THE CASE OF THE *Hertfordshire* WITCHCRAFT CONSIDER'D.

Being an

Examination of a BOOK

644 **Witchcraft.**—The CASE of the HERTFORDSHIRE WITCHCRAFT consider'd. Being an Examination of a Book, entitl'd, A Full and Impartial Account of the Discovery of SORCERY and WITCHCRAFT, Practis'd by JANE WENHAM of Walkern, upon the Bodies of Anne Thorne, Anne Street, &c. 8vo., calf, 92 pages, 1712. *Scarce* 6 18/6

Practis'd by JANE WENHAM *of* Walkern, *upon the Bodies of* Anne Thorne, Anne Street, *&c.*

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN PEMBERTON, at the *Buck* and *Sun* againſt St. *Dunſtan's* Church in *Fleetſtreet*. MDCCXII.

Louis XV. Translated, with Notes, Critical and Explanatory, by R. GRIFFITH. 3 vols, 8vo., contemporary tree calf, full gilt backs, 1779-81 9/-

633 **Voltaire** (Mr. de) The HISTORY of CHARLES XII., King of Sweden. Trans. from the French. *Portrait.* 12mo., cont. sheep gilt, 1733 5/-

634 [Voltaire (M. de)] La PUCELLE

THE CASE OF THE *Hertfordshire* WITCHCRAFT CONSIDER'D.

Being an

Examination of a BOOK,

ENTITL'D,

A Full and Impartial Account of the Discovery of Sorcery & Witchcraft, *Practis'd by* JANE WENHAM *of* Walkern, *upon the Bodies of* Anne Thorne, Anne Street, *&c.*

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN PEMBERTON, at the *Buck* and *Sun* againſt St. *Dunſtan's* Church in *Fleetſtreet.* MDCCXII.

531363B

To the Honourable

Sir JOHN POWELL, *Kt.*

One of Her MAJESTY'S *Juſtices of the* Queen's-Bench.

SIR,

AFTER I had reſolved with my ſelf upon the Publiſhing theſe Papers, I ſoon determined, that there was no-body to whom I could ſo properly ſend them as to Your Self. The Part You had in this Cauſe as *Judge*; The Part You were made to bear by the Inſolence of thoſe, who not ſatisfied with Your Conduct in this Matter, endeavour'd to poſſeſs the World with an Opinion, that Your Unwillingneſs to come into their Meaſures, proceeded rather from a Disbelief of the Power

of *Inviſible Beings*, than from any Deficiency in the *Evidence* of this particular Caſe, ſeem to give You more than a Common Intereſt in every Thing that has a Tendency towards clearing up the Darkneſs, in which Things of this Nature are involved.

There has been nothing, *Sir*, more invidiouſly urged againſt You, than the Freedom with which You uſed the *Clergymen*, who were concerned in the Tryal; and the *Common-Prayer*, which was made to be an Evidence on the ſame Side. I am not ſo unconcerned for the Credit of thoſe *Gentlemen*, the Dignity of their *Order*, or for the Excellent *Offices* of our *Church*, as to compliment You at the Expence of any of them. But when I conſider what unreaſonable Influence the *Opinions* of theſe Perſons, and the *Reverence* for the *Prayers* of the *Church* had upon the Minds of the *Jury*, and conſequently upon the *Life* that was at ſtake; it ſufficiently juſtifies to me, Your endeavouring to leſſen the *Authority* of both, in a Caſe where neither could pretend to any.

I was

DEDICATION.

I was ſecretly concerned to obſerve, how eaſily Men are led into fond and ill-grounded Notions, and how faſt the ſuperſtitious Fears of ignorant Men began to revive upon this Occaſion: And believing my ſelf able to offer ſomething which might help to rectify theſe *Miſtakes*, I thought I could not better employ a few vacant Hours than to this Purpoſe. I have endeavoured, *Sir*, to do Juſtice to Your *Judgment*; and I do not deſpair, but that whoever reads over the Whole, fairly, and without Prejudice, will be ſo far from charging You with too much *Remiſneſs*, that, on the other hand, he will find ſufficient Reaſon to admire Your great *Caution* and *Temderneſs*, which would not permit You to give up, even a *wretched Life*, to the importunate Fears and Apprehenſions of the *Country*.

I dare not, *Sir*, preſume to claim to my ſelf, any Merit from this mean *Performance*; nor think that I have contributed any thing towards the maintaining Your *Credit* among thoſe, who are proper Judges

of

of what is truly Valuable. Your Integrity and Wiſdom; Your profound Skill in the Laws of our Kingdom, and Your ſteady Zeal for our *Church*, are, I am ſenſible, ſo well eſtabliſh'd amongſt thoſe who have the Honour to know You, that they ſtand in no need of ſo weak a Support as this. All that I can hope for, is, to cool a little the *Ferment* that has been raiſed upon this Occaſion, and to give You ſome ſmall Aſſurance that

I am, *Sir*,

Your moſt obedient and

humble Servant.

THE PREFACE.

ALthough it is no uncommon thing to appear in Publick without Ceremony, yet the Nature of this Perfomance is ſuch, that I cannot but be ſenſible how great occaſion there is for an Apology.

There are ſeveral Sorts of Men, who it is likely will expect that I ſhould render ſome account of the Reaſons, which induced me to enter upon this Subject. The Firſt are thoſe who have a very mean Opinion of this Story of Witchcraft *; theſe perhaps will be apt to think that I had little to do my ſelf, and that I imagined others to have as little, that I could deſcend ſo low as to examine a Caſe, which is ſo apparently Ridiculous, as to be beneath the Thoughts of any, but Ignorant and Superſtitious Men. Now with relation to theſe I muſt beg leave to reply.*

First, *That this Story is not ſo apparently Ridiculous as may be imagined. Some of the Occurrences therein mentioned are undoubtedly true: Others, tho' perhaps falſe, do yet carry with them a great Shew of Credibility; and as to thoſe Conſequences which have been drawn from them, although indeed they do not come*

come up to what has been pretended, yet there are several things in these Accounts seemingly so strange and wonderful, as makes them in my Judgment, not wholly undeserving the consideration of a Wise Man.

It is certain, that how frivolous soever these things may appear in the Eyes of those who see them at a distance, they have yet been far otherwise esteem'd of by those who are nearer to the Scene of their Transaction; insomuch that they have been a standing Topick of Discourse, not only amongst the Ignorant and Illiterate, but even amongst the wiser and more refined sort of People, in that Corner, almost ever since the Day wherein they happened. And indeed, when not only the Credit of a Man of a considerable Station and Character in the World, seemed hereby to be struck at, but also the Life of, perhaps, an innocent Person was in imminent danger, it is methinks a thing very excusable in any one to take these Matters into sober and serious Consideration.

But whatever becomes of this particular Story of Jane Wenham, *it will, I conceive, be thought a matter of no small concern, to know in general, what are the true and distinguishing Characters of a* Witch, *and what Proofs are sufficient to support a Charge of* Witchcraft *against any one when brought to a Legal Tryal. And this, I hope, may afford me a Second Plea, to urge in defence of my Publishing these Papers. For although I do not pretend to have brought this Point to a full and positive Determination, (this being not my business at this time) yet I flatter my self thus far, that the Reader may find several Observations here, which may not be altogether useless to those who would think rightly of these Matters; and that those whose*

Chan-

Chance it may be to be concerned as Jury-men *in ſuch Caſes as theſe, may ſee, how hard (I had almoſt ſaid impoſſible) it is to convict a Witch; and thereby be adminiſhed, how cautious and circumſpect they ought to be, leſt at any time they ſhould incur the Guilt of condemning innocent Blood.*

If theſe rude Strokes which I have drawn may be an Encouragement to thoſe who have greater Abilities to handle this Subject with more Exactneſs, I preſume it would be an Attempt not wholly unſerviceable. For it is a very melancholly thing to conſider, what odd Notions the generality of Mankind have concerning things of this Nature; and with how little Judgment they diſcharge themſelves when they are called to give their Verdicts concerning them. Age, Poverty, *and a* Perverſe Temper of Mind, *are the three principal Ingredients which enter into the Compoſition of a Modern* Witch. *One under theſe Circumſtances fills the whole Pariſh where ſhe lives with a thouſand extravagant Fancies and terrifying Dreams. If any ones Cattle happen to dye (as they call it)* ſtrangely; *if any one chances to be ſick of ſome uncommon Diſtemper; in a Word, if any thing falls out which they cannot give a good account of, preſently there is* Witchcraft *in the Caſe, and they are for hanging or burning the poor Wretch who has the misfortune to be ſuſpected. This ſhows, I think, how neceſſary it is, as well, that People ſhould be better informed, as that they ought never to be encouraged in theſe Extravagancies; for it is hard to ſay where the Miſchief will end, if this Humour be once indulged, and how many will daily be apprehended and brought to Tryal, upon ſuſpicion of* Sorcery.

As to those who are determined with themselves to consider all things of this Kind, as mere Figments, or Impostures, they doubtless will esteem it as an Argument of great Weakness and Credulity in me, that I could think it worth my while, to take such pains in examining the particular Instance before me. If these therefore should expect an Apology, all that I shall say is, that it would be an Argument of far greater weakness in me to attempt to convince them of such things as they are resolved never to beleive. Neither indeed is it my business to shew the Reality of the Existence of Evil Spirits, *and of their* Intercourse *with Mankind; and therefore if there be any who desire to be satisfy'd herein, I shall referr them to those who have professedly treated upon this Subject.*

But there are yet another sort of Men to whom I think my self obliged to say a Word or Two; and they are those who look upon the Being of Witches *of such Concernment in Religion, that whatsoever has any tendency to destroy the belief of that, must of necessity weaken the other. The Notion which these Men go upon seems to be this. That the Existence as well of* Spirits *in general, as of* Evil Spirits *in particular, being of such Importance to be believed, and* Witchcraft *being as they suppose so evident and sensible a Demonstration of both, it seems that any Attempts made against the Latter, is endeavouring to rob Religion of one considerable Guard which should secure it against the Attempts of prophane and licentious Men.*

Mr. Glanville.

This they will tell us is one of the Outworks of our Faith, *and that when once a Breach is made here, Religion will lose ground apace, and* Atheism come on by larger

larger Strides: *That* when once Men come to deny there are SPIRITS, or WITCHES, it is a fair Step and Introduction to ſay, THERE IS NO GOD.

Whether this be a juſt way of Reaſoning, I ſhall not undertake to determine; tho' I muſt needs ſay, that ſince Religion ſtands upon a far more Solid and Laſting Foundation, it looks a little prepoſterous, to ſee Men inſiſting upon this, with ſo much Heat and Eagerneſs. And therefore, all the Return I have to make to thoſe who may think fit to urge this Objection againſt me, is, That they are all this while ſpeaking to a wrong Body. I am far from attempting to break in upon the Outworks of Religion, (*if* Witchcraft *muſt be called ſo*) *or to invalidate the Force even of the weakeſt Argument it has to ſupport it ſelf withal. I deny neither the Being of* Spirits, *nor the Being of* Witches, *but will allow both the one and the other all the Credit and Authority they can reaſonably pretend to. But then, I deſire to be excuſed, if I cannot give my Aſſent to every idle Story, and believe that to be an Inſtance of* Witchcraft, *which whimſical and credulous People ſhall affirm to be ſuch.*

How important ſoever the Belief of Witches *may be ſuppos'd to be, I imagine, it will receive but little Confirmation from this particular Story; ſince both the Facts themſelves, as well as the Concluſions which have been drawn from them, are ſuch as (I fancy) will not find an eaſy Admittance with Men of Thought and Conſideration. And therefore, I hope I ſhall not be blamed, for endeavouring to ſhow the Vanity of an Argument, which, if inſiſted upon, would (inſtead of gaining Men over to this Opinion) expoſe it to the*

Con-

Contempt and Scorn of all thoſe, who are not diſpoſed to believe every thing that is told them.

This is all the Apology that I ſhall make in Defence of my ſelf. If any one now ſhould be deſirous to ſearch to the Bottom of this whole Story, and have ſo little to do, as to look into theſe Papers, I do not wholly deſpair of his reaping ſome ſmall Satisfaction from the Peruſal of them. If my Judgment has not been deficient, the Advantages which I have had above ſome others that have wrote on the ſame Side, cannot fail of Recommending this Performance: For it has been my Fortune to be placed but a very few Miles diſtant from the Pariſh where theſe Things were tranſacted; which, as it could not but put me upon taking them into a more ſerious Examination, ſo it has given me an Opportunity of Informing my ſelf in ſome material Circumſtances, which (it may be preſumed) thoſe who were more remote could not be ſo well acquainted with.

The Case of the Hertfordshire *Witchcraft consider'd*, &c.

AFTER the great Dust that has of late been raised by the pretended *Witchcraft* of *Jane Wenham*, the Reader will not, I conceive, be surprized to find me enquiring into a Story of so peculiar a Nature.

I have been for a long time very Curious to know the Truth of those many Reports, that have been raised upon that Subject; and was glad at length to find, that we were not left wholly to rely upon the Authority of the credulous and unthinking Multitude; being very sensible how many Circumstances of Importance might by that means very easily have been lost in the carrying, how many more forg'd and invented, or taken up without a sufficient Examination of the Grounds upon which they stand.

I have read over Mr. *Bragge*'s *Narrative*, and I think with that Care and Application that is requisite, in order to discover, as well the Credibility of the Matters themselves, as also the Foundation that is in them to support that Charge of Witchcraft which has been fixed upon this *Jane Wenham*; but after all the Care and Pains that I have taken to satisfy my self, the Story does not seem so clear to me, as to admit of no Scruple. Many Things there are, which are not so plainly prov'd as could be wish'd; many taken up upon little or no Foundation; and all of them, tho' never so certain in themselves, do yet seem to have but

little Force, with regard to the Proof of thoſe Things to which they have been apply'd.

So that notwithſtanding all that this Author has attempted, in order to convince the World of the *Witchcraft* of this Woman, I am (for my own part) very much in the dark concerning it: I ſee no Foundation for his Aſſurance; and find my ſelf ſtill (as to thoſe Matters) in the ſame Degree of Scepticiſm as I was before.

It is not, in the mean time, the Deſign of theſe Papers, in the leaſt to oppoſe the Poſſibility of the Being of Witches in General. So far I am from that, that I am very inclinable to believe, there may be ſuch Perſons in the World. I will not pretend to determine the Extent of the Devil's Power over us; nor to ſay how far it is poſſible, or not poſſible, for any one to maintain a Correſpondence and Familiarity with him. My Buſineſs is only to examine into the particular Caſe before us, in order to ſatisfy my ſelf how far Mr. *Bragge* has made out the Thing he pretends to prove; *viz. That* Jane Wenham *is guilty of that Witchcraft which has been charg'd upon her.*

This is, in ſhort, the whole Deſign of the following *Enquiry*; in which I ſhall endeavour to proceed as clearly and fairly as may be. Whatever occurs in his *Narrative* that is material, ſhall be conſider'd; whatever is atteſted by ſufficient Evidence, ſhall be admitted; and whatever Force it has to prove the Matter now in Debate, ſhall be readily granted. In a word, The Reader may expect to meet with all that Fairneſs and Impartiality, that may be thought reaſonable in one, who deſires only to be well inform'd, and who deſigns freely to give up, upon juſt and reaſonable Grounds of Conviction.

But before I enter upon this Buſineſs, it will be neceſſary to take notice, That here are Two Queſtions which ought to be carefully diſtinguiſhed. The Firſt is, Whether theſe Matters of Fact, *as they are here related*,

lated, do argue any thing really *preternatural*; or *wherein the Assistance of some Evil Spirit is necessarily required?* The other; Whether or no, this being granted, there be sufficient Reason to conclude, *That* Jane Wenham *is at all concerned in the Case?* These Two Questions, I say, must be distinguished; because they are really very different from each other. For it does by no means follow, That because *Anne Thorn*, or *Anne Street*, have done and suffered strange Things by the Power and Malice of the Devil, that therefore *Jane Wenham* has been employ'd by the Devil, as an Instrument in these Matters.

Another Thing which I shall here once for all acquaint the Reader with, is, That in searching out the Truth of these Relations, I shall make no manner of Account of the Testimonies of *Matthew Gilston*, *Anne Thorn*, or *Anne Street*, any further than as they come back'd and confirm'd with Authority of indifferent and credible Witnesses. And for this, I think, there is the greatest Reason in the World. For, in the first place, these are the Persons principally concern'd in this *Witchcraft*, and therefore if there be any Design of *Cheat* or *Imposture*, it can no where be so much suspected as in them. And then besides, the Two latter are evidently very much *disturbed in their Imaginations*, ('tis no matter how) and for that Reason, I think, there can but little Credit be given to what they say, especially to what they relate as done whilst their *Fits* were upon them. This therefore is but a reasonable and necessary Scruple; and which, if Mr. *Bragge* had well consider'd of before-hand, might have made him more cautious in this Account which he has given us: For I find, there are many Facts, and those of Consequence too, which he has related as undoubted Truths, and for no other Reason that I can find, but because they told him so.

These things being briefly premiſed, I come now to examine a little into the Matters contained in this Narrative. In the doing which, I ſhall follow them (as near as I can) in the ſame Order in which they ſtand, tho' I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to tranſcribe the entire Stories, deſiring my Reader to lay Mr. *Bragge*'s Papers before him, and to have recourſe to them as often as occaſion ſhall require.

The firſt Story is that of *Matthew Gilſton*, who, it ſeems, was ſent by this *Jane Wenham* to *Munders-hill* for a Pennyworth of Straw, *&c.* Now here, in the firſt place, I would deſire to know what Certainty we have of the Matters contained in this Relation? Did any one *ſee* this Old Woman that came to him at the Barn-door? Did they *hear* her ask him for a Pennyworth of Straw? Further; Did any one *ſee* this Boy at *Munders-hill*? Did they *ſee* him come home with Straw in his Shirt? I cannot find any Anſwer to theſe material Queſtions. We are told indeed, * That *ſome Perſons ſaw this* Matthew Gilſton *running upon this Fool's Errand:* But who were *theſe Perſons*, and *when* did they ſee him? Were they Perſons of *Honeſty* and *Credit*? Did they ſee him going to or from *Munders-hill*? And did they know what was the *Occaſion* of his going? All theſe things are very material Points, and ſhould have been clearly made out, had Mr. *Bragge* a mind that any one ſhould have believed this Story beſides himſelf: And therefore becauſe he has given us no manner of Account of theſe Matters, I think we have reaſon to conclude, either that he could not; or elſe that he has not been ſo exact in his Relation as he ought to have been. But admitting all this to be true, I do not ſee what Proof he will be able to draw from hence, to ſupport his pretended *Witchcraft*. For, may not an Old Woman ask a Boy for Straw?

* *Diſcovery*, p. 2.

May

May not this Boy refuſe to give it? And may he not afterwards run away from his Work, and all this without *Conjuration*? But why, you will ſay, to *Munders-hill*? Why, to ſtuff his Shirt with Straw? Why to run through Rivers, Ditches, and all that comes in his way? What Account can be given of all theſe odd and extravagant Whimſies? Why truly, I muſt ſay, no very good one, that I can ſee. The Story is, I muſt own, odd enough; but I think it does not immediately follow, that all this cannot be done without *Witchcraft*. Cannot a ſilly, idle Boy, grow lazy, and have Tricks in his Head, without being beholden to the Devil for his aſſiſtance? If all the *freakiſh Tricks* that Boys play muſt be aſcribed to *Sorcery*, there will never be wanting Materials, to furniſh out as many Books of *Witchcraft*, as Mr. *Bragge*, has Leiſure and Inclination to write.

But let us give the Devil his due, if this be ſo, and ſuppoſe for once that it was all his Roguery; how is *Jane Wenham* all this while any way concerned in this Relation? A poor Old Woman asks a Boy for Straw; the Boy denies her, and immediately after the Devil (for ſo we are now taught to ſuppoſe) ſeizes him; therefore *Jane Wenham* has betwitched him. A very pithy Argument this indeed! But pray, where is the Connexion of this Reaſoning? Does the Boy ſo much as know that it was *Jane Wenham* that asked him for Straw? He ſays no ſuch thing, but only in general Terms that it was *an Old Woman*. But granting that this Old Woman was *Jane Wenham*; does it therefore follow that ſhe was the Occaſion of his Running? I would fain know from Mr. *Bragge*, by what Rules of Logick this Argument can be made good; and ſhould think my ſelf very much obliged to him, if in the next Edition of his *Narrative* he would reduce it into the Form of *Syllogiſm*.

But

But perhaps we may meet with better Luck than this in the next Relation. *Anne Thorne*, a Young Woman of about 16 Years, has a Fancy to run for *Sticks*, as the other had for Straw: But here, it ſeems, the Devil is a little modeſt, and contents himſelf with Stripping her of her Gown and Apron only. However, ſhe runs, it ſeems, half a Mile right out, and in the ſpace of 6 or 7 Minutes brings home a Bundle; and all this too when her Knee was juſt Sett, having, it ſeems, been lately put out. But here again we find many things wanting, which are too material not to have been enquired into, or if known, not to have been related. Mr. *Bragge* tells us, that ſhe run a Mile in the Space of about Seven Minutes. But how does this appear? Did Mr. *Gardiner* compute the time by his *Clock* or *Watch*? The Story does not ſay he did, and I am very apt to think he did not; for he having no ſuſpicion before hand of *Anne Thorn*'s running for *Sticks*, it is not likely he ſhould have been ſo curious unleſs he had ſome other Reaſon for it. Well then, did he ſpeak by *gueſs* only, *or according to the beſt of his Judgment*? If that be the Caſe (as ſeems to me moſt likely) I do not well ſee how Mr. *Gardiner*, or any one elſe under thoſe Circumſtances, could be ſo exact as to aſcertain the time that had paſs'd to Six or Seven Minutes. Mr. *Gardiner* was in the Parlour converſing with his Wife and Friend, for which reaſon it is natural enough to ſuppoſe, that he could not be ſo accurate as to point of Time, but that Six or Seven Minutes *more* might ſlip away without his obſervation. Now Six or Seven Minutes, through a very ſmall miſtake in Mr. *Gardiner*, will make very conſiderable alteration in the preſent Caſe; for this being once ſuppoſed, the time in which *Anne Thorn* run this Mile will amount to very near a quarter of an Hour, and then her running will (inſtead of Eight) be at the Rate of about Four Mile an Hour: a Swiftneſs which I think may very well be accounted for without the Power of *Witchcraft*.

But

But to go on, How are we assured that this Maid run as far as *Hackney-Lane*? Did any Body see her at the Place where she is said to have gathered the Sticks? I cannot find by any thing here related that they did. All that we are told is, *That Two of* John Chapman's *Men saw her running that way up the Hill*, but it is not said how far the Tree where she had the Sticks, is from that Place where these Men saw her; so that for any thing we are told to the contrary, the Girl might not be above half way to the Place where she is said to have got her Sticks, and might soon after gather them up and come running back again: And if this be true, then this wonderful Story will still admit of a more easy Solution. All these Circumstances therefore Mr. *Bragge* ought well to have examined into, and particularly specify'd in his Narrative. It is not guessing or talking at random that can do the Business. These are Points very material; and the unaccountableness of the whole Story (and consequently the Witchcraft) does absolutely depend upon them. But this is not the only Instance we have of this Author's Exactness. *P.* 5.

But because it is necessary not to insist with him too much upon Niceties, put the Case that, *Anne Thorn* did really run just so far, and in just the same time that he would have it to be, I do not yet after all this see how it proves the thing, he would infer from it; It is no such wonderful thing for one to run Eight Miles in an Hour, that we must needs call in the Devil to his assistance. How many are there that can run (I speak modestly) Nine or Ten? But to deal ingeniously; I am not very forward to think *Anne Thorn* is so nimble a Racer? But then it deserves, I think, to be considered, whether or no her *Distemper* or *Fits* (whatever you will call it) might not furnish her with such Powers and Abilities as Nature had refused to give her. It would be a thing incredible, had we not daily Instances of it before our Eyes, how much the *Muscular* Force may be increased by *Nervous Disorders*. What a prodigious strength

do

do we ſee in diſtracted Perſons? How common is it for weak and helpleſs Women, when in an *Hyſterical* Fit, to exert themſelves in ſuch violent Struglings, as that Three or Four ſtout Men ſhall hardly be able to reſtrain them? Theſe are Obſervations which no body can be a Stranger to, and which are not ſo vaſtly diſtant from this preſent Caſe, as may perhaps be imagined. For what is *Running*, I would know, but a ſwift and violent motion (principally) of the lower Limbs? And how is this done but by the force of the Muſcles that actuate thoſe Parts? If therefore the ſtrength of any other part may be ſo much augmented by a Natural Diſtemper, as we have before obſerved, why may not the ſame be ſaid of thoſe whereof we are now ſpeaking, ſo that a Perſon who can in a Natural State run not above Two Miles an Hour, may, by an increaſe of the *Muſcular Force*, in a Double, Treble, or Quadruple Proportion, be enabled to run Four, Six, or Eight. This is a very natural and eaſy Suppoſition; neither do we want an Inſtance to confirm it, if the Reader will credit an Account lately given me by a Perſon of great Worth and Integrity, *viz.* Of a Boy, who ran with a prodigious Swiftneſs, from no other evident Cauſe but a Diſtemper of this Nature.

But I foreſee that it may here be objected, that *Anne Thorn*'s Knee having been ſo lately put out, it ſeems impoſſible, that that part ſhould have been capable of ſo violent a Motion, how much ſoever the moving force may be ſuppos'd to have been increaſed. Very like ſo! But I am not ſo eaſily ſatisfy'd, that her Knee was ever out at all; and am inclined rather to believe that it was no more than *Strained*. Mr. *Bragge* indeed has at the end of his Narrative given us a Certificate from one *William Green*, whom he is pleaſed to call *the Surgeon that ſet* Anne Thorn's *Knee*, which tells us that it was really out of Joint. But who is this *William Green* who atteſts this? By Mr. *Bragg*'s calling him a *Surgeon*, the Reader may perhaps look upon him as ſome conſiderable

derable Body; that he has ſerved Seven Years at St. *Thomas*'s *Hoſpital*, and underſtands what he pretends to very well. But it is very fit he ſhould be inform'd here, that he is an ignorant *Pretender*; one who does not underſtand the Buſineſs of *Chirurgery* half ſo well as he does Farming, which I am told is his proper Employment.

I my ſelf can give the Reader one Specimen of his extraordinary Judgment, in the Caſe of a Gentleman who had the Misfortune to diſlocate his *Collar-bone*; and altho' the Diſlocation was ſo viſible, that any one might diſcern it; yet this wiſe Son of *Apollo* could never be perſuaded that it was ſo, till it was too late to reduce it; ſo that the Bone is out of Joint to this Day. Now he that could be deceived in ſuch an Inſtance as that, and ſay that the Bone was not out, when it ſo apparently was, may (I think) as eaſily be deceiv'd in this; and ſay that *Anne Thorne*'s Knee was out, when really it was not. But there is one Circumſtance in this very Story, which is Demonſtration to me, that *Anne Thorne*'s Knee was not really out of Joynt. Mr. *Green* tells us, that after he had ſet this Knee, *Anne Thorne was very lame, and not able to walk*: And yet Mrs. *Gardiner*, but the very next Morning, *P.* 5. could think her well enough *to go to a Neighbour's Houſe to fetch Peaſe.* This ſhows then, that by the next Morning ſhe was able to go tolerably well; for otherwiſe I do not think Mrs. *Gardiner* would have been ſo unreaſonable as to have put her upon it. But was it ever yet heard of, that a Perſon who had diſlocated her Knee, ſhould be able to go of ſuch an Errand, when it had been ſet at moſt but 24 Hours before? I have talk'd with ſome who are good Judges of this Matter, and they all agree, That had the Caſe been really ſo, ſhe would not by that time have been able ſo much as to have ſet her Foot upon the Ground; and that People under thoſe Circumſtances, are not able to walk under 6, 8, or 10 Days Confinement. If Mr. *Bragge*

ſhould pretend that ſhe went for theſe Peaſe too, by the Power and Aſſiſtance of the *Devil*; I muſt confeſs, I know not well how I ſhould be able to diſprove that. But he muſt be very cautious of ſaying this, leſt he makes Mrs. *Gardiner* a Witch, as well as *Jane Wenham.*

But it may be urged further; That granting it to be true that her Knee was no more than *ſtrained*, yet that even then it ſeems very unlikely, that ſhe ſhould be capable of running ſo ſoon; becauſe of the violent Pain, which would neceſſarily have attended ſuch a Motion. But I anſwer; That the Diſorder which *Anne Thorne* was under from the Fit which was then upon her, might ſo far divert and fix her Thoughts at that time, as to render her wholly inſenſible of any Pain, or at leaſt ſtupify her ſo much, as to make her not unwilliing to comply with that Humour of Running. It is what we ſee in many Inſtances, That when the Mind is deeply engag'd upon one particular Object, the Senſes are as it were bound up, and the Exerciſes of their reſpective Faculties ſuſpended for ſome time. But to what purpoſe, you will ſay, ſhould ſhe run; or what ſhould move her to this extravagant Whimſy? Why ſhe her ſelf has given us a very good Account of that. *She found*, ſhe ſays, *a Roaming in her Head, and ſhe thought ſhe muſt of Neceſſity run ſomewhere.* That is to ſay, She was a little beſides her ſelf; her Thoughts were unſettled, her Imagination diſturb'd, and ſo ſhe runs a Gadding as other diſtracted Folks are wont to do, ſhe knows neither for what, nor where. I am very confident, the Reader will not think it an Objection againſt me, that I cannot give a preciſe Account of every Whim, that comes in the Heads of *Vapour'd* and *Brainſick* Wenches; for theſe not proceeding from any Principle of Reaſon, are not therefore the Subject of Rational Enquiry.

----------*Quæ res*
Nec modum habet neq; concilium ratione modoq;
Tractari non vult------ ſays *Horace.*

and

and therefore he very handſomely expoſes the Folly of attempting to bring ſuch things as theſe to any *certain Rule* or *Meaſure*,

——— ——— ——— ——— *Hæc ſi*
Mobila & circa fluctantia Sorte pararet
Reddere certa ſibi, nihilo plus explicet ac ſi
Inſanire paret, certa Ratione modoque.
Horat. Sat. 2.

We have now conſidered this Story as to the Truth of this Fact, and alſo how far it is an Argument of ſomething *Preternatural*. The Deficiencies are ſo very remarkable with reſpect to both, that the Reader cannot but have obſerved them. Let us now conſider how far, ſuppoſing this to be *Diabolical*, *Jane Wenham* is concerned in it. With relation to this we are told, That when *Anne Thorn* was got as far as *Hackney-Lane*, *ſhe ſaw a little Old Woman muffled up in a Riding-Hood, who ask'd her whither ſhe was going*, &c. But P. 4, 5. why does Mr. *Bragge* tell us all this? Why! For no other Reaſon that I can ſee, but becauſe *Anne Thorne* has told *him* ſo. But I have before obſerved, that what ſhe ſays is not in the leaſt to be depended upon. Mr. *Bragge* appeals to Two of *John Chapman*'s Men for the Truth of this whole Story; but very unreaſonably: For after *Anne Thorn* was got paſt them, as they were going down the Hill they ſaw no more of her, and conſequently can be no Evidence for what paſſed afterwards; ſo that it might, notwithſtanding any thing that *John Chapman*'s Men have affirm'd, be only *the Suppoſition of a wild Fancy*. And ſo indeed I am apt to think it was: For a little while after, we find this poor Wretch with Mr. *Chauncy* and *Thomas Ireland* at her Heels, running again upon the ſame Errand. Here again when ſhe comes home ſhe tells the ſame Story of the P. 8. Old Woman; but neither of the other Two that I can find ſay any thing at all of her. They ſaw in-

deed *Anne Thorn* put forth her Hand towards the Hedge, as if ſhe reached for ſomething ; but ſo ſhe might very well, and at the ſame time neither ſee nor take any thing but the Sticks which ſhe was gathering. It may be ſaid perhaps, that this Old Woman being behind the Hedge it might not be poſſible for either of theſe Two Perſons to ſee her, they themſelves being likewiſe behind the Hedge (as we are left to gueſs) on the other ſide of the Way. But it is here very wonderful to me, that our noble Knight-Errant, who upon all other Occaſions ſhew'd himſelf ſo reſolutely brave, did not now ſpring forth out of his Ambuſcade, and endeavour to ſeize this Hag of an *Enchantreſs*. Surely, had I been he, when I ſaw *Anne Thorn* putting forth her Hand as if ſhe reach'd for ſomething, I would for once have ventur'd my Carcaſs, and ſeen whether any Body had been to be found behind the Hedge or not. But after all, notwithſtanding it is poſſible that this Old Woman might have been hid behind the Hedge, this will do Mr. *Bragge* no great ſervice. For here it ſeems was *ſomething* ſaid by this Old Woman to *Anne Thorn*, *viz. That ſhe need not come any more for Sticks.* Very ſtrange ! That an Old Woman ſhould come and *talk* to this Girl, and no Body ſo much as *ſee* or *hear* any thing of her, when the Girl was at the ſame time under guard of Two Men, who had followed her cloſe at the Heels to keep her from doing her ſelf any miſchief. In ſhort, Mr. *Bragge* has given us no manner of reaſon to think, that there was any Old Woman at all ſeen by *Anne Thorn* : It was therefore probably a pure Whim, and Figment, of a wild and diſtracted Imagination, without any manner of truth or reality in it.

But ſuppoſing here for once, that this was more than bare Deluſion ; Who was this Old Woman, I would fain know, who was behind the Hedge ? Does *Anne Thorn* ſay that it was *Jane Wenham* ? She ſays no ſuch thing that I can find, but only with *Matthew Gilſton* that it was an Old Woman ; but ſhe knows not who.

Further

Further yet, ſuppoſing it were *Jane Wenham*, how does it from hence appear that ſhe was any ways inſtrumental in ſending her upon this fooliſh Errand? Might not *Jane Wenham* meet her accidentally in that place? Was it not natural enough for her, ſeeing the Wench in ſuch violent haſte, to ask her whither ſhe was going? Might ſhe not, being perhaps accuſtomed to Hedge-breaking her ſelf, be able to inform her, that there were no Sticks to be had at *Cromer*? And might ſhe not too, ſeeing ſhe had nothing to bind up her Sticks in, bid her pull off her Gown, or ſeeing her pull it off of her own accord, give her a Pin to faſten it with? As ſtrange and wonderful as all this is, I think it may be done without *Sorcery*?

But it ſeems this Wenches Head run all this while upon *Jane Wenham*: Well, and what then? Does it therefore neceſſarily follow from thence, that *Jane Wenham* had bewitched her? Cannot a crack-brain'd Creature think of any one, but preſently he muſt be Witch or Wizzard? Mr. *Bragge* ought to be very careful how he follows this Argument too cloſely; the Conſequences being very dangerous. If this be true, the poor innocent *Sweetheart* may be called in to bear ſnacks with *Jane Wenham* in this *Conjuration*; he, 'tis more than probable, run much in the Girls Head too, and for any thing I can tell may be the greateſt Sorcerer. But be that as it will; it is no great wonder that the poor Girl finding her ſelf in an odd Condition, and hearing every Body's Mouth opened againſt this *Jane Wenham*, ſhould begin to think her ſelf in *ill handling*, and be ready enough too to lay it upon the Back of *Jane Wenham*. This may be ſuppoſed, and I think without much ſtraining; and this will be reaſon enough why this *Jane Wenham* ſhould be thus continually running in her Head.

But to clinch the matter home, here comes a very ſtrange and ſurprizing Accident. We will burn the Old Witch, cries Mrs. *Gardiner*, and then throws Sticks,

Pin

Pin and all into the Fire. Immediately in comes *Jane Wenham* with a Lye in her Mouth. But how does Mr. *Bragge* know that *Jane Wenham* told a Lye, when she told *Goody Thorne*, that she must go to *Ardley-Bury, to Wash the next Day*? Why, because it seems he had made Enquiry at *Ardley-Bury: i.e.* I suppose he had made Enquiry of Sir *Henry Chauncy*, whether or no they were to Wash the next Day; and whether Mother *Wenham* was sent with any such Message to Goody *Thorne*. If I am mistaken, Mr. *Bragge* must thank himself for it. He should have told us of whom this Enquiry was made, that we might have seen whether or no they were Persons that were likely to know any thing at all of the Matter. But passing by all this; how does Mother *Wenham*'s coming in with a Lye in her Mouth, prove her to be a *Witch*? Why, she came in just when the Sticks and Pin were a burning. Perhaps so: And so might Mr. *Bragge* himself, for any thing I can tell to the contrary. Might not any Person accidentally do the same thing? And must he, for that Reason, be certainly concluded a *Sorcerer*? Had she been observed to do this several times successively, that perhaps would have gone some way towards the proving it more than Chance.

But instead of this we find the contrary: For
P. 8. a little after we are told there were more Sticks burnt upon the same Occasion, and yet no *Jane Wenham* appeared, that I can find by the Relation. All the Difference here to be observed, is, That whereas in the former Story the Sticks and the Pin were burnt together; in the latter the Pin was left in the Gown. I know not what stress may be laid upon this; but, for my part, he that can draw a poor decrepid old Wretch out of her Chimney-corner, in cold Weather too, merely by the burning of a Pin, I should look upon him to be the greatest Conjurer of the two.

And now I have done with the first Story relating to *Anne Thorne*; which I have been the more particular in, because I suppose it to be one of the principal Pillars whereon

whereon Mr. *Bragge* endeavours to ſupport his Suppoſition of *Witchcraft*. It is evident, I think, that there are many things wanting in this Narrative that are neceſſary to render the Story compleat: And that even granting it to be as true as Mr. *Bragge* can deſire, there is no great Foundation for thoſe Inferences which he has been pleaſed to draw from it. Let us now therefore go on to the reſt, and ſee if we can find out any thing that may be more to the Purpoſe.

I can find nothing now worth taking notice of till we come to Page 6. where we find *Anne Thorne* in another Fit, running (if ſhe could) for more Sticks, and leaping over a *Five-barr'd Gate*. Let us ſee what can be made of this Story. *Anne Thorne* is in a Fit, ſhe runs out of doors in a great Hurry; and meeting with a Five-barr'd Gate in her way, ſhe *ſcrambles* over it very nimbly ſome way or other, we know not how. A mighty Thing indeed this, for *a Spirit of ſuch Power and Wiſdom* (*Cunning* I ſhould have called it) *as the Devil is to concern himſelf in!* But I would deſire the Reader here a little to conſider, whether or no this *Leaping* of Mr. *Bragge*'s might not be (as I ſaid) *Scrambling*? No, he ſays; for Mrs. *Gardiner* and many Others ſaw her *leap*: But who were theſe *ſeveral Others*? Were they honeſt Men? And did they obſerve exactly how ſhe got over? I do not find thus much in his Accounts; and therefore as to theſe *By-ſtanders*, let them be ſo ſtill. Well, but it ſeems Mrs. *Gardiner* ſaw her leap: If ſhe did, I will believe it; but ſhe, as I am told, ſays no ſuch thing, only that ſhe *got over ſome how or other very nimbly*. Neither do the other Perſons, that I can hear, agree in their Accounts; ſome ſaying that ſhe *leaped*, and others that ſhe *leaned her ſelf upon the Top of the Gate*, and ſo *threw* her ſelf over. But to pleaſure Mr. *Bragge*, we will for once put in the word *Leap*. He ſays then, that *Anne Thorne leaped* over this Gate. Very well: But what does he mean by *Leaping*? Why

Par. 2. Obj. 2.

Why that we may pretty well gueſs at, when we come to conſider the Notion he has of *Vaulting*. Now by this I find he underſtands no more than *Climbing*. *Anne Thorne* tells us, that when ſhe was running to *Hackney-Lane*, ſhe *Climbed* over a Four-barr'd Gate. He tells us, that the Gate which *Anne Thorne* now *Leaped* over, was the ſame that ſhe had before *Vaulted* over (meaning, I ſuppoſe, the very Gate ſhe ſpoke of). Now, becauſe it is not civil to ſuppoſe either *Anne Thorne*, or Mr. *Bragge*, to be under a Miſtake; it muſt therefore be granted, that according to Mr. *Bragge*'s Account, *Vaulting* and *Climbing* amount to much the ſame thing. If then *Vaulting* is the ſame with *Climbing*, why may not *Leaping* and *Climbing*, or *Leaping* and *Scrambling* be the ſame, ſince it is plain that Leaping and Vaulting are the very ſame? Well; but whatever may be made of this Relation, as it is here ſet down; it is, it ſeems very certain, that *Anne Thorne* did *leap*. For we are told, *p.* 8. that Mr. *Arthur Chauncy* and *Thomas Ireland* accompanying her from Stick-gathering, *they would have forced her through the open Gate; but that, notwithſtanding all their Endeavours, ſhe was forced over that which was ſhut, with an incredible ſwiftneſs.* But all this time we are not told whether ſhe leapt *fairly* and *cleanly* over, or whether ſhe laid her Hands, or any other Part of her Body, upon the Gate. Now if this were all, this might be done with a very great (and what Mr. *Chauncy* perhaps would call an *incredible*) ſwiftneſs; and that without a Miracle. But at *p.* 26. comes in this Mr. *Arthur Chauncy* again and *ſwears*, that ſhe went over *as nimbly as a Greyhound*. That might be, and nothing wonderful in it neither; for I have ſometimes ſeen a Greyhound go over a Gate very ſoberly, and now and then taking the Top of the Gate in his way: Nay, but ſhe went over *as nimbly as ever he ſaw a Greyhound leap over ſuch a Gate.* It may perhaps be pleaſant enough to Mr. *Chauncy* to *ſee*, or Mr. *Bragge* to *relate*, how young Wenches can flirt over Bar and

Comp. *p.* 4. with *p.* 6.

and Gates; but I am ſorry it was *ſworn* to. A Man ought to be more cautious when he ſpeaks to the Truth of a Fact, which in its Conſequences, may affect the Life of any Perſon, than when he relates a pleaſant Story only for his own or his Company's Diverſion. And yet by his Manner of expreſſing himſelf, Mr. *Chauncy* ſeems to have forgot the Place he was in, and to have told this Story in the ſame merry and figurative Manner, that he would have done over a Glaſs of Wine.

But we will now ſuppoſe what Mr. *Bragge* would have, and admit that *Anne Thorne* did really *leap* over this Gate, and with any ſwiftneſs that he can deſire, (leſs I mean than that of a Greyhound in his full-ſpeed); We will, I ſay, admit all this, and ſee what Account can be given of this Matter. I have before given my Opinion concerning the Buſineſs of *Anne Thorne*'s Running, *viz.* that it might poſſibly be occaſioned by an Augmentation of the Force of Muſcular Motion from Common Cauſes. Now if the Force of the Muſcles may be ſo much increaſed this way, as to enable a Perſon to *run* with four times the ſwiftneſs (or more) that he uſually can; why may not the ſame thing be ſaid of *Leaping*, ſince that depends mainly upon the Motion of the ſame Parts? Inſomuch that a Perſon who can leap any given Heighth with a given Velocity, may be enabled by the Augmentation of that Force, to leap at any Rate proportionable to that Augmentation? I ſee no manner of Difficulty in this Suppoſition; nor will any one, I believe, who underſtands any thing at all of the Animal Oeconomy. And although it is not ſo often that we meet with Caſes of this Nature; yet what I have ſaid is, I hope, enough to ſhow the Thing poſſible; and that there is therefore no ſuch Neceſſity upon this Occaſion to have recourſe to Supernatural Cauſes.

By this time, I hope, we are got over this Five-barr'd Gate, tho' I cannot ſay with the ſame Eaſe and Expedition that *Anne Thorne* is ſaid to have done. However, I think we are ſafely Landed on the other Side, and

without ſtraining our ſelves ſo much, but that we can without much trouble proceed to the following Parts of the Narrative. I ſhall only ſtop here a while, whilſt I conſider how far *Jane Wenham* is concerned in this Matter.

Now for this, we are told, *(p. 6.)* That in the beginning of *Anne Thorne*'s Fit, *ſhe made Signs to* Jane Wenham's *Houſe*; and afterward *(p. 7.)* when her Diſorder was over, and ſhe had taken a little Reſt, That *ſhe was ſtrongly prompted to go to* Jane Wenham's *Houſe*, ſaying, *She would have ſome of her Blood.* That accordingly ſhe did go to *Jane Wenham*'s, and accuſed her as being the *Cauſe of her Torments*; *and more Words to that purpoſe.* This is all that I can find with relation to this Story, that fixes this ſuppoſed *Witchcraft* upon *Jane Wenham.* But becauſe theſe are Circumſtances, which frequently occur throughout this whole *Narrative*, I ſhall, to prevent Repetitions, reſerve them to be conſidered by themſelves afterwards. The ſame I ſhall do with regard to *the Maid's Recovery out of her Fits, immediately upon* Jane Wenham's *coming to her*, Jane Wenham's *Confeſſion*, &c.

We are come now to Three Informations more, given in before Sir *Henry Chauncy*; Where the firſt that occurs is that of *Suſan Aylott*, who depos'd, *That about 12 Years ago, laſt* Chriſtmas, *ſhe was ſent for to the Wife of* Richard Harvey, *who was then in a very ſtrange Condition. That, as ſoon as ſhe came thither*, Jane Wenham, *having followed her, went under the Window, and cried out, Why do they let this Creature lye here? Why do they not take her and hang her out of the way? And that Night* (it ſeems) *the Sick Woman died.*

The next is that of the ſame *Suſan Aylott*, who depoſed further, *That ſoon after this* Jane Wenham *came to her Houſe, and looking upon a Child which lay upon her Lap; and ſtroaking it, ſaid*, Suſan, *you have a fine Child. That*

the

the Sunday *following, this Child was taken in a grievous Condition, ſtark Diſtracted; and ſo died the* Tueſday *following.*

The laſt is that of *Thomas Adams*, who depoſed, *That about Three Weeks or a Month before* Chriſtmas, *he met this* Jane Wenham *in his Turnip-field, ſtealing Turnips; which cauſed ſome Words between them. That on* Chriſtmas-*Day one of his beſt Sheep died, without any Signs of Illneſs in the Body after it was opened. That* 9 *or* 10 *Days after died another in a moſt unaccountable manner; and ſhortly after two more Sheep died alſo, none of them having any Marks of any Diſeaſe upon them, but being ſound in all their Parts, as his Shepherd inform'd him. He ſays further, That his Shepherd tells him, that one other Sheep was taken ſtrangely, skipping, and ſtanding upon its Head, but in half an Hour was well, and continues ſo. And another Sheep was likewiſe very ill for two or three Days, but is now well again: And* Jane Wenham *having the Common Fame of a Witch, he does believe, that if they were bewitched, ſhe did bewitch them.*

It were pity to have parted theſe Informations, they are all of them ſo nearly related to one another; and now after they are thus nakedly ſet down, I challenge the graveſt Man upon Earth to contain himſelf from Laughing. That any Man who pretends to Senſe, and good Reaſoning, ſhould ſtuff out a Narrative with ſuch palpable and conſummate Nonſenſe! Does Mr. *Bragge* think there is any Argument in all this? If not, he might, one would think, have been ſo good a Huſband of his own Time, and ſo tender of the Reader's Patience, as not to have troubled him with ſo much Impertinence: If he does, it is ſtill more wonderful, how any Man ſhould be ſo much a Maſter of his own Judgment, as to force it, ſo much againſt Common Reaſon, to ſubſcribe to ſuch Concluſions. A poor Woman lies at the point of Death; *Jane Wenham*, a foul-mouth'd Wretch, comes and Scolds under her Window; The Woman dies ſoon after, therefore this *Jane Wenham* had

bewitch'd her. Very good! But let us go on. *Jane Wenham* ſees a lovely Child in her Neighbour's Lap; ſhe is tempted to ſtroke and careſs the Infant: Soon after the Babe dies ſtark diſtracted; and therefore again *Jane Wenham* had bewitched it. What ſurprizing Concluſions are theſe; and what may not one prove by this way of Reaſoning? As well might it be ſaid, That it was deſtroy'd by the Care and Fondneſs of its own Mother; or that the *Sugar'd Milk*, or Plumb-Cake, were Poyſon, which it had eaten the Day before.

But this, perhaps you'll ſay, is more than bare Accident: For at *p.* 28. we may meet with another Inſtance of the ſame Nature. *Elizabeth Field* had a Nurſe-Child, which (it ſeems) was alſo ſtroked by this *Jane Wenham*, and died convulſed in ſome ſhort time after. And may not all this be, without the Help of *Witchcraft*? Might not *Jane Wenham* have the ſame ill Luck twice in her whole Life? Alas! ſhe has ſhown to all the World, that ſhe can be more than once unfortunate. It is not to me in the leaſt wonderful, that after *Suſan Aylott* had made that unlucky Obſervation upon her Child, that the whole Pariſh ſhould now begin to ſet their Heads at Work, to find out Inſtances of the ſame Nature. And I dare ſwear, that could they have found out but one more for Twenty Years backward, that had died (as they call it) *in a ſtrange and unaccountable manner*, and it could have been prov'd that *Jane Wenham* had ever once touched it, they have ſuch an Opinion of *Jane Wenham*, that they would infallibly have laid all the Miſchief at her Door. But I will here beg leave to make one Enquiry. Did ever *Jane Wenham* make *any Pretenſions* to this Power, which is here aſcrib'd to her Stroaking? Did ſhe ever ſay, *She had a Power to deſtroy theſe Children* whilſt they were well; or did ſhe *threaten*, or *foretel* they ſhould ſhortly dye, before the Time that ſhe ſtroaked them? This is what Mr. *Bragge* ought to have told us, and have clearly prov'd too,

too, had he a mind to ſay any thing at all to the Purpoſe. If this had been the Caſe, and her *Stroaking* had had the ſame Effect for ſeveral times together; that would indeed have gone a great way towards proving, that ſhe was *Conſcious* of this Power in her ſelf; and would have inclin'd me to believe, that ſhe had ſome, *more than ordinary*, Dealings with the *Devil*. But it is ſo far from being certain that ſhe had any Deſign of deſtroying theſe Children, that there are ſome Circumſtances in this Story of *Suſan Aylott*, which make the contrary more probable. For *Jane Wenham*, it ſeems, had ſome time before fallen out with *Suſan Aylott*, and had now a mind to reconcile her ſelf to her. This now is a Natural Reaſon enough, why ſhe ſhould ſeem fond of this Infant; ſince every one knows, that the ſureſt way to gain the Affections of the Parents, is to ſhew a Regard and Reſpect for their Children. We do not indeed find the ſame Circumſtance in the Story of *Elizabeth Field*, but it is very likely that the Caſe might be the ſame.

But here at laſt comes the Wonder of Wonders: This poor Wretch, *Jane Wenham*, is *Stealing* of *Turnips*, to keep her ſelf from Starving. *J. Adams*, the Owner of theſe *Turnips*, catches her in the very Fact, chides her ſeverely, and ſends her away Grumbling. Some time after this, here is a lamentable to do among the Sheep: Some dye, others are ſick, and others are well; and all this too (as the Learned Shepherd ſays) without any Signs of Diſtemper. Alas poor *Jane*! Now all the World will cry out againſt thee, as the moſt wicked and dangerous of thy Kind. But I pray, cannot a Sheep *burſt its Gut*, or have the *Staggers*, without *Magick* and *Inchantment*? I wiſh Mr. *Bragge* would be pleas'd to publiſh the Hiſtory of the *Life and Death of theſe Sheep*, that we may know their Caſes exactly. And ſince ſo much depends upon a juſt Account of the

Sheep

Sheep of the Pariſh, I ſhould be heartily glad to hear that he was choſen *Biographer* to all the Flocks.

But we need not ſtay any longer to expoſe theſe Fooleries, which do ſo effectually expoſe themſelves. The Subject is inviting; but hark! I am call'd away by a Legion of foul Monſters like Cats: They
P. 17. *ſpeak to me*; they *tell me I muſt go*. Surely they muſt be the Ambaſſadors of Satan, they ſcratch ſo, and make *ſuch a helliſh Noiſe*! They muſt be the Imps of Mother *Wenham*, their Features do ſo exactly reſemble her! 'Tis certainly ſo! They are arm'd too with *Knives and Razors*, and tempt me to *ſtab* my ſelf, or to *cut my Throat*. Oh where is Mr. *Chauncy*, that Scourge of *Devils*, and of *Cats*! Look, look, Sir! That, that's Mother *Wenham*; kill her, and the Charm is broke! But whither am I going? Let me recover my Senſes a little, leſt I grow mad too, and furniſh Mr. *Bragge* with Materials for a Second Narrative. To be ſerious then: This Story of the *Cats* is ſo ridiculous, that methinks I know not who to pity moſt, whether the poor *diſtracted Creature*, or Mr. *Bragge*, who has thought it worth his while to inſiſt upon it, as a Proof of his *pretended* Witchcraft. What, I would fain know, can any one conclude from ſuch Relations as theſe? Here is a poor *ſhatter'd Wretch*, who tells us ſhe ſees *Cats*, with Faces like Mother *Wenham*, which ſpeak to her, and threaten to torment her: And from hence we are taught to conclude, that this *Wenham* is *a Witch*, and that *Anne Thorne* is *bewitched* by her! This is ſo exactly like Mr. *Bragge*'s way of Reaſoning, that had I ſeen it any where elſe, I ſhould no more have doubted whether or no it belong'd to him, than *Anne Thorne* could doubt who the *Cats* belong'd to, when ſhe obſerved their Features. The Reader will eaſily obſerve, how rich a Vein of ſuch Arguments as theſe runs thro' this whole *Narrative*. But pray, let us examine a little into the *Circumſtances* of this Story.

Anne

Anne Thorne, it ſeems, ſees a thing *like a Cat*; for *a Cat* it could not be, becauſe it ſpoke to her. But how, I would know, can we be aſſured of all this, ſince it depends ſo *entirely* upon *Anne Thorne*'s Teſtimony? Was any one with *Anne Thorne* at any time, when ſhe ſaid ſhe ſaw theſe Cats? Yes, it ſeems, *James Burville* has given in upon Oath, in open Court, *That he was preſent ſeveral times when* Anne Thorne *ſaid ſhe ſaw Cats about her Bed: And more he would have atteſted, but this was thought ſufficient by the Court.* But what was this I wou'd fain know *that he would have atteſted further?* p. 29.

Was it that he was ſenſible of any *Cats* being in the Chamber when *Anne Thorn* ſaid ſhe ſaw them? Was it that he heard them *ſpeak* to *Anne Thorne*, and was ſure that ſhe was not deceived? Not one Word of this do we find either of *him* or of *any one elſe*, throughout this whole Narrative. I do not wonder that the Court was tired out with hearing ſo many palpable Abſurdities; but methinks Mr. *Bragge*, who believes all this Story of the Cats to be true, and is ſo very angry with thoſe who do not, ſhould have been *ſo much at leiſure*, as to have told us what *James Burville* had more to ſay. If the *Court* had heard enough to ſerve their turn, the Reader has not in this Account enough *to ſerve his*; and therefore he ought to have examined *James Burville*, and to have ſet down whether or no he *ſaw* and *heard* any *Cats* ſpeak at the ſame time that *Anne Thorne* ſaid, She both *ſaw* and *heard* them. Whether this Neglect was the Effect of *Deſign*, or *Stupidity*, I cannot ſay: It is however Demonſtration to me, that Mr. *Bragge* knows very well that *James Burville* never ſaw nor heard any *Cats* at all, at that time; for had he been aſſured of the Contrary, ſuch is his *Zeal* in this Cauſe, that he could not poſſibly have prevailed upon himſelf, not to have told us of it.

Well! but it ſeems Mr. *Chauncey*, *James Burville*, and others, did at other times frequently ſee *Creatures like Cats*. It is very like ſo, and it is probable they were *Cats*, for I do not find any thing here that ſhows the

contrary

contrary. They did not appear to them as they did to *Anne Thorne*; they had no *Knives* nor *Razors* in their Paws; they *ſcratch'd* and *ſqueal'd* indeed we are told, as Cats do, but I do not hear that they were able to *ſpeak* one Syllable. Beſides, Mr. *Chauncey* kill'd one of theſe, (*P.* 23.) which is a miſchance I am ſure the *Devils* are not ſubject to. If Mr. *Bragge* will ſay that theſe were *true Cats*, but ſent upon the *Devil*'s Errand, I will ſay ſomething if he can *prove* that, and tell me what Errand they came upon.

But perhaps he will tell us that theſe were not *all of a Sort*, but *a mixture of Cats and of Devils*; becauſe *James Burville*, and *Thomas Ireland*, ſaw One or Two of them which had *Faces like Jane Wenham*. But alas poor *James*! Thou art as mad almoſt as *Anne Thorne* her ſelf! *Jane Wenham* has already ſeiz'd thee, and marked thee out for *Nancy*'s Husband! However, I am here methinks very deſirous to know *when it was that theſe Cats were ſeen*. I mean, whether in the Night or in the Day; for if it was in the Night, the difference between the Face of a *Cat* and that of an *Old Woman* is not ſo very diſcernable but that they may poſſibly be miſtaken for one another, eſpecially by thoſe (as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe theſe to have been) who are very ſtrongly acted by the *Force* of Imagination. I cannot ſay, for my part, who could have been ſecure from making the ſame Miſtake, if he had for ſo long time been ſcared almoſt out of his Wits by *Witches* and *Wenhams*.

But it will be time enough to look out for a Solution of this, when we are well aſſured of the truth of the Relation; at preſent the Story looks ſo very ill that I cannot forbear ſuſpecting ſome *Roguery*. And to juſtify me in this Suſpicion, I would deſire the *Reader* to obſerve, how the Story of the Cats ſtands, before, at, and after, the Aſſizes. The firſt Account that we have of *Cats* is at *P.* 17. where *Anne Thorn* tells us, that ſhe ſaw *Cats* appear to her, *telling her ſhe muſt go*. At the ſame time too, there was, it ſeems, a diſmal Noiſe of *Cats*

heard

heard about the Houſe, accompanyed with *Scratchings* under the *Windows*, and at the *Doors*; and theſe *Cats* were ſeen ſometimes *Three or Four in a Company*, by Mr. *Chauncy*, *James Burville*, *Thomas Ireland*, and others. The next is at *P.* 20, but here was nothing ſeen of, or heard from them, but *Screamings and Scratchings at the Doors*, as before. The laſt is at *P.* 23. where *Anne Thorn* gives in upon Oath, that on the 26th of *February* in the Morning, ſhe ſaw a *Cat* ſitting in the Window, which ſpoke to her, and told her ſhe ſhould have more Pins: And this is all the Account we have of *Cats* before the Tryal. Till then therefore, it is plain, that we have no Evidence of any *Cats* appearing with *Jane Wenham*'s *Face*, neither from *Anne Thorn*, nor any other Perſon; neither, of their *Speaking* do we know any thing more than what *Anne Thorn* has told us. And indeed it is what I could not but obſerve, that the *Speaking* of theſe *Cats* does wholly depend upon her, and *Anne Street*'s Evidence, there being not ſo much as One Perſon beſides, that I remember, who is ſaid to have heard any thing of this Nature. But to go on: When the Tryal comes on, there we have the firſt Account of *Cats* being ſeen with the Face of *Jane Wenham*, and of her converſing with the Devil in the ſhape of a *Cat*. And after *P.* 29. the Tryal, we have *Legions* of them poured in upon us, almoſt in every Page. The Reader may eaſily ſatisfy himſelf of the Truth of this, if he will but caſt his Eye upon that part of the *Narrative* which comes *after the Tryal*. It would be endleſs to refer to the Story particularly, there being hardly one of them which has not a ſpeaking Cat belonging to it.

From this Obſervation then there ariſes a very natural and obvious *Query*, *viz.* Whence comes this change of the *Scene* and of the *Actors*? Why ſo many *Cats at and after*; And why ſo few *before* the *Tryal*? Why *plain Cats* with *Cats Faces* and *Cats Voices* before; And why *Cats* with *Jane Wenham*'s *Face* and *Human Voices* afterwards? The plain Account ſeems to be this; They had

like to have been *bubbled* of their *Witch*, by the Miſtake, (or perhaps the *Art*) of him who drew up the *Indictment*. For ſome of them having *unluckily* mentioned the Story which *Anne Thorne* told of the *Cats* ſpeaking to her, the whole *ſtreſs* of the *Cauſe* (as Mr. *Bragge* pathetically complains) was thrown upon this, and *Jane Wenham* was accordingly indicted only *for converſing familiarly*
P. 24. *with the Devil under the ſhape of a Cat.* This had like to have ſpoiled all. Their Cauſe now ſtands upon a *Falſe Bottom*, and unleſs they can ſome way or other ſupport it, muſt inevitably fall to the Ground; What therefore is now to be done? Muſt they drop the *Indictment*, and ſet the whole World a Laughing? Or muſt they now *wade* (as the Proverb ſays) *through thick and thin*, and ſupport the *Indictment* as well as they can? This latter, it ſeems, was thought moſt adviſeable; and to this purpoſe in come Four Witneſſes, *viz. Thomas Ireland*, *James Burville*, *Uriah Wright*, and *Thomas Harvey*. The Two former ſwore directly, *That they*
P. 29. *ſaw Cats with Faces like* Jane Wenham. The Two latter, that they asking *Jane Wenham* once, in what ſhape the Devil us'd to appear to her, ſhe replyed,
ibid. that *ſhe fancy'd him to be a Cat*. Now that *Thomas Ireland* and *James Burville* ſhould ſee theſe *Cats* with *Jane Wenham*'s Face before the Tryal, and that we ſhould not hear One Syllable of this ſtrange Sight till then, is to me a thing very wonderful. But there is ſomething particular in the Evidence of *Uriah Wright*, and *Thomas Harvey*, which I deſire the Reader to obſerve, *viz.* That this Information of theirs about the *Cat*, which was given at the Aſſizes, was an *Addition* to the Information given in before to Sir *Henry Chauncey*. That Information, as you may find it *P.* 21. ſtands thus; *Uriah Wright of Walkerne ſaith upon Oath, That on Sunday laſt was Sevenight, he ask'd* Jane Wenham *whither ſhe had ſeen the Devil or no? She, the ſaid* Jane Wenham, *anſwered, She had ſeen him following her, when ſhe has looked over her Shoulder,*

Shoulder, and when she turned her self round he vanished away. This *Information* was also then sworn to by *Thomas Harvey*. Now at the *Assizes*, these two Persons again attested the Substance of the same *Information*, and added, *that they ask'd the Prisoner in what Shape the Devil us'd to appear to her, and she said she fancy'd him to be a Cat.* P. 29. Now is it not very strange and incredible, that these Persons should have heard from *Jane Wenham*, *that the Devil us'd to appear to her in the shape of a Cat*, and yet that they should say nothing of it in their *Information* given before Sir *Henry Chauncy*? Is it any way likely, that they should have taken no notice of so *material* a Circumstance as this, if they had known any thing of it? I know not what Mr. *Bragge* may think on't, but to me it loooks so very much like Knavery, that I hardly know how to think any thing better concerning it.

To draw up therefore the whole *Evidence* with relation to this Story in a very short compass. Here is not one Soul besides the *Girl* her self, that pretends ever to have heard any *Cats* speak. Here are but Two that ever saw any with *Jane Wenham*'s-*Face*, and this was not mention'd till the *Witch* was upon her Tryal. And here are but Two neither which heard *Jane Wenham* say *the Devil us'd to appear to her in the shape of a Cat.* This likewise was not so much as *touch'd* upon (although they had all the reason in the World to have mentioned it) before the *Tryal*, when they were assured, that the whole stress of the Cause depended upon that Bottom. And amongst all these, there is not so much as one of the Persons of Credit; no Mr. *Gardiner*, no, Mrs. *Gardiner*; no Mr. *Strut*, no Mr. *Chauncey*; nay, not even Mr. *Bragge* himself, but all *ignorant* and *illiterate* Fellows. So that of these Four Witnesses Two were precluded, having long before given in the same Information, without mentioning any Cat. And the other Two have great reason to be suspected, having never so much as hinted that they saw any Cats before the Tryal, and being likewise those very Fellows that were Married

to the two Wenches ſome time after. And now I will leave the World to judge of Mr. *Bragge's Underſtanding* and *Modeſty*, who could tell us, Page 24. *That he thought himſelf ſufficient to prove even this* (meaning *Jane Wenham's* converſing with the Devil in the Shape of a Cat) *by two or three Witneſſes.*

There remains now but one Circumſtance more to be conſidered with relation to this Story. Mr. *Bragge* (in order to ſhow, I ſuppoſe, that theſe *Cats* of his were *mere Devils,*) tells us, Page 17. *That Mr.* Chauncy *having a fair Opportunity to ſtrike them, found himſelf not able to move his Arm.* The only Anſwer that I ſhall give to this, ſhall be by relating a *Story*, which Mr. *Bragge* has thought fit to conceal, not only by *paſſing it over in Silence*, but, what is much worſe, *by miſrepreſenting it.* Page 20. he gives us an Account of Mrs. *Gardiner's* leaving her Houſe upon the 17th of *February*, becauſe, as he ſaid, *ſhe deſpaired of her Maid's Life, and was tired out with Grief and Fatigue, and was no longer able to endure ſuch ſad Sights.* Mr. *Bragge* had indeed ſome Reaſon to conceal the Truth here; for had it been told it would have deſtroyed *Anne Thorne's* Evidence, by ſhowing how far wiſer People than ſhe, are ſubject to the Power of Imagination in theſe Caſes. The Story, as I have had it credibly reported to me, is this.

Mrs. *Gardiner* being tired with watching for the *crooked Pins*, (the Story of which you have *P.* 19, 20.) left the Company, and went into the Parlour to drink a *Diſh of Tea* with her Husband and a young Lady, who was then in the Houſe with her. When the *Tea* was brought in, ſhe ſent to Mr. *Chauncy* to know if he would drink a Diſh with her. He came to her; and the young Lady thinking ſhe obſerved ſome Diſorder in Mr. *Chauncy*, ſaid to Mrs. *Gardiner*, Don't you think Mr. *Chauncy* looks very Ill? Upon which Mrs. *Gardiner* asked him how he found himſelf? He ſaid, Pretty well; but left the Room, and immediately ſent for Mr. *Gardiner* to come to him, and told him, that he was in ſuch a Condi-

Condition, as he never was in before in all his Life, and could not tell but it was his Turn to ſuffer. Mr. *Gardiner* ſent for his Wife, and ſhe gueſſing at his Caſe, ſent for a Bottle of Brandy; and as the Bottle loſt its Spirits, Mr. *Chauncy* recovered his. In the mean time, the young Lady, who was left alone, began *to find a Roaming in her Head too.* For it ſeems Mrs. *Gardiner*'s Daughter (who had the keeping of the *Inchanted Pins*, and was called away by her Mother) had left the Pins in the Lady's Hands; which began to work immediately; and when Mrs. *Gardiner* returned, ſhe found her in a Swoon upon the Floor. Her likewiſe Mrs. *Gardiner* recovered by the help of burnt Feathers, and ſuch common Remedies. But no ſooner was ſhe well awake, but ſhe ſwooned a ſecond time, and was with more Difficulty recovered. Theſe were the ſad Sights, which Mrs. *Gardiner* could no longer bear; and though her Courage had hitherto held out beyond them all, ſhe thought it was time to leave her Quarters, when ſhe found the whole Family running Mad. And now Mr. *Bragge* may make what Advantage he pleaſes of Mr. *Chauncy*'s not being able to ſtrike his Cats.

I had like to have forgotten one Story of the *Cats*, which I ſhould have been very loth to have done, it being ſo good a *Specimen* of Mr. *Bragge*'s *exactneſs*. He tells us, *Page* 23. of Mr. *Chauncy*'s *killing a Cat that knocked at the Door.* All that we can reaſonably gather from which, is, That Mr. *Chauncy* hearing a Noiſe at the Door, went out to ſee what was the Matter, and finding no-body there but a *poor Cat*, fell into a Paſſion, and knockt it o'th' Head. Mr. *Bragge*, I ſuppoſe, mention'd the Circumſtance of her *knocking*, as an Argument that this Cat was a *Fiend* come upon Mother *Wenham*'s Errand; but he ought at leaſt to have offer'd at one Proof to ſhow that ſhe did knock, and not contented himſelf barely with ſaying ſo. Whether a Man ought to be charged with *Folly* or *Impudence*, who writes after this faſhion, I do not ſay: Be the Reaſon what it will,

it

it deſerves I think to be marked out as ſomething very extraordinary.

And now we have done with the Story of the *Cats*, which I ſuppoſe the Reader has obſerved to be one of the moſt wretched Arguments that ever was thought of to ſupport a Charge of *Witchcraft*. Here is not ſo much as one Proof that can ſhow, that there was any thing more in this whole Story, than *That at the time of* Anne Thorne's *Illneſs, a Number of Cats were ſeen and heard to ſqueak, and make a Diſturbance, about Mr.* Gardiner's *Houſe.* But this is not all the Weakneſs and Abſurdity, that is to be obſerved here; for admitting all to be true that has been ſaid and ſworn to, *viz.* That *there were really Cats ſeen with* Jane Wenham's *Face, and heard to ſpeak:* Admitting, I ſay, all this, I would yet deſire to be informed, how all this proves any *Witchcraft* upon *Jane Wenham.* The *ſpeaking* of the *Cats*, I ſuppoſe, will not be inſiſted upon, becauſe other Folks are able to ſpeak beſides *Jane Wenham*; Their *appearing with her Face*, is the thing, which, if any can, muſt do the buſineſs. I will not here ſtay to enquire, whether the Perſons who ſaw theſe *Cats*, had ſo much skill in *Phyſiognomy*, as to be able to diſtinguiſh, at a Glance, the Face of *Jane Wenham* from that of any other Old Woman; becauſe I have in my Suppoſition admitted it to be true, that theſe Cats were ſeen with the Face of *Jane Wenham*: But then I muſt ask how the *Devils*, appearing in the Shape of a *Cat*, with *Jane Wenham*'s Face, is an Argument to ſhow, that ſhe is a *Witch.* I ſee no Connexion that there is between, the *Devil's appearing in her Shape*, and *her making any League or Contract with him.* If the *Devil* is able to take *Jane Wenham*'s Shape upon him, it is likely he is able to take upon him whoſe Shape he pleaſes; and if ſo, I am, I muſt confeſs, not ſo well skilled in theſe Matters as to be able to ſay, upon what Terms he is pleaſed to do ſo; and therefore cannot aſſure my ſelf, but he may appear in the Shape of any

innocent

innocent Perſon, if he ſees fit. If Mr. *Bragge* thinks otherwiſe, I do inſiſt upon it, that he would demonſtrate to me, *That the Devil never made uſe of his Shape to promote any ill Deſign.*

The next remarkable Story is that of the *Pins*; which, I muſt confeſs, were it as clearly proved in all its Circumſtances, as it is confidently aſſerted, I ſhould look upon to be ſomething very extraordinary. That there were great Numbers of *Pins* ſeen in the Maid's Hands, we cannot reaſonably queſtion, it being a thing ſo very well atteſted: But as to the Means by which they are ſaid to be convey'd thither, in this (I muſt confeſs) the Relation does not ſo well ſatisfy me. Mr. *Chauncy* ſays, *That a Pin came into her Fingers he knows not how*; and that I think may very well be, and *Anne Thorne* not be bewitched neither. But he ſays further, That *ſhe pluck'd a Pin out no where, nor had it in her Hands before.* But how does he know all this? Why, I ſuppoſe, becauſe he did not ſee it. But is Mr. *Chauncy* ſo much of an *Argus*, that nothing could poſſibly be done, but that he muſt ſee it? Mr. *Bragge* will ſay, perhaps, That he watch'd her ſo very narrowly, that he muſt of Neceſſity have ſeen theſe *Pins*, if ſhe had any. But what was it he watch'd her for, I would fain know? Why, without doubt, to ſee that ſhe might not ſlip any Pins into her Hands ſlily. Did therefore Mr. *Chauncy know*, that there would afterwards be Pins found in her Hands? No, this could not be; for this is the firſt time we read of any Pins; and it is therefore likely, that he did not think of any, unleſs he himſelf were a *Conjurer*. There was then no manner of Reaſon in the World, why Mr. *Chauncy* ſhould watch this Maid ſo very narrowly: Neither, after all, do I find by this Relation, that he was ſo very exact in his Obſervation, as that he could be able to ſay with ſo much Aſſurance, that *ſhe plucked this Pin out no where, nor had it in her Hands before.* Did he obſerve all her Motions for an Hour, 2, or 3 together? P. 19.

ther? Did he open all her Fingers ſeverally, before this Pin appear'd? He does not, he cannot ſay all this; and therefore I think Mr. *Chauncy*'s Evidence about theſe Pins, is leſs worth than the Pins themſelves. But then, to put the Matter beyond Diſpute, we are told, that the Day following being in another of her Fits, ſhe was ſeen to have more Pins; *altho'*, *at the ſame time, Care was taken that not ſo much as a Pin was in any of her Cloaths.* This I very much doubt. For after all the Care that was taken about this Matter, it is very poſſible ſhe might notwithſtanding have Pins in her Cloaths, where they might not be able to find them. But ſuppoſing ſhe had none in any of her Cloaths; is Mr. *Bragge* aſſur'd ſhe had none any where elſe? Was the *Chair*, or *Bed* whereon ſhe ſat, ſo carefully examined, that it can poſitively be ſaid there was none there? And is Mr. *Bragge* ſure that there was none of the *By-ſtanders*, who had any Deſign of Impoſing upon the World, and who did not ſecretly *convey* theſe Pins to her? Theſe, and ſeveral Queſtions may be ask'd, and ought to be reſolv'd, before we can determine our ſelves upon the preſent Caſe. Theſe Mr. *Bragge* has taken no notice of: And if I may ſpeak what I think, I believe they are ſuch as he cannot anſwer; and therefore he muſt excuſe me if I cannot, upon ſuch an imperfect Story as this, be immediately brought to cloſe in with his Opinion. But he ſays further ſtill, *That the Girl's Hands were pinnion'd*; *and that even then ſhe ſeemed to receive and ſwallow ſomething.* That, I think, ſhe might do, and yet neither receive nor ſwallow any thing at all. Had there been Two or Three Credible Witneſſes, that had *ſeen* theſe Pins come *dancing in the Air*, and *jumping into her Mouth*, this indeed would have ſomething ſtartled me. But I do not find by Mr. *Bragge*, that any Pins were ever ſeen *in the Air* at all; nay, not *in her Mouth*, after her Hands were pinnion'd. He ſays indeed, that *George Chapman clapp'd his Hand before the Maid's Mouth*, *and felt one ſtriking againſt his Hand.* But feeling and ſeeing are

Two

Two different Things. Did he ſee it, I ask; and know it was a Pin? No, he did not; (as I had it from his own Mouth) Neither is he certain whether it was a Pin or no: Something he did feel; but whether it were a *Pin*, or any thing elſe, he cannot affirm.

I have ſaid as much as I think neceſſary to be ſaid upon this Subject. After which I muſt again own, that was every Circumſtance of this Story ſo clearly made out, as it is neceſſary it ſhould, before it ought to be believed, I ſhould look upon it to be a thing very extraordinary. But I cannot here be without ſome ſuſpicion of Cheat and Impoſture: It is a Matter of a very various and complicated Nature, and there are ſo many Circumſtances wanting in the Relation, that the moſt I can at preſent do for Mr. *Bragge* is to ſuſpend my Faith concerning it.

But if it ſhould now be granted, that theſe *Pins* were conveyed to *Anne Thorn* by the power of ſome *evil Spirit*, I believe it would yet be very difficult to find any thing in this Inſtance, which would be ſufficient to prove *Witchcraft* upon *Jane Wenham*. All that can here be pretended in order to this is, *That it was taken notice of by Two Men who ſat up with her, that in the Evening ſhe pull'd out her Pincuſhion which was full of Pins, and that in the Morning when ſhe produc'd it again they were all gone, and that ſhe wanted a Pin to pin up her Gown.* P. 20. Now not to diſpute here whieher this be a ſufficient proof, that thoſe *Pins* which *Anne Thorne* was ſeen to have were the very ſame *Pins* that came off *Jane Wenham*'s Cuſhion, (which yet may very reaſonably be demanded) Not to diſpute this I ſay, I would only deſire to be inform'd of Mr. *Bragge* how it follows, That becauſe the *Devil* took *Pins* off *Jane Wenham*'s Cuſhion and brought them to *Anne Thorne*, how, I ſay, it follows from hence, that *Jane Wenham* had made any *League* or *Contract* with him? If the Devil was ſo dextrous as to put *Pins* into *Anne Thorne*'s Hands after ſo *ſecret* and *inviſible* a manner, as Mr. *Bragge* ſuppoſes, it is not I think

much to be queſtion'd but he could by the ſame *ſecret* and *inviſible* manner take them away from *Jane Wenham*; and I do not take the Devil's *Conſcience* to be ſo very *ſqueamiſh*, as that he can think himſelf obliged, when he is in want of a few Pins, to ask any one leave where to get them.

The Story of the *Bottle* of *Urine* comes next in order, which becauſe it deſerves no better than to be ſoundly banter'd, I ſhall leave to be anſwer'd by thoſe who are more merrily diſpoſed than I am at preſent. All that I ſhall remark concerning it is, that if they had a mind to have made the World believe, that there was any thing wonderful in this *Experiment*, they ought to have repeated it ſeveral times, and to have ſeen whether or no the ſame *Effect* always followed. For as the Story ſtands at preſent it is but one ſingle Inſtance, and of conſequence will prove nothing at all. P. 20.

We are now come to the Story of the *Feathers*, which Mr. *Bragge* is pleaſed to call *a Diſcovery more ſurprizing than any thing that has been yet related.* He tells us in the firſt Place, that the Pillow in which theſe *Cakes of Feathers* were found, was ſtuffed with Down not long before by Mrs. *Gardiner*'s own Hand. This, I ſuppoſe, he informed us of, to make it appear a thing incredible, that any Feathers ſhould come there at all. But is it poſſible, that Mr. *Bragge* ſhould have been ſo very ignorant in theſe Matters, as not to have known, that that which is generally called *Down*, is nothing elſe but a mixture of the ſmalleſt ſort of *Feathers* with *Down properly ſo called*; ſo that ſince Mr. *Bragge*'s *Cakes* were, according to his own confeſſion, made up of *ſmall Feathers*, it will be eaſy upon this Suppoſition to find out Materials enough for them without the power of *Witchcraft*. Well! But beſides theſe *Feathers*, here was it ſeems *a viſcous Matter, which would ſtretch Se-* P. 22.

ven

ven or Eight Inches in a fine Thread before it broke, by which they were cemented together into theſe Cakes; and this Mr. *Bragge* tells us *puts him in mind of that Oyntment made of dead Men's Fleſh, which Mr.* Glanville *mentions as often uſed by Witches.* We are obliged to him here that he was only *put in mind of this,* and that he did not ſay, this *viſcous matter was the very ſame with Mr.* Glanville's *Oyntment.* But I am apt to fancy, that unleſs he had reſolved that Mr. *Glanville* ſhould ſay ſomething on his ſide, he would much ſooner have been put in mind of a little *Pitch* or *Shoemaker's-Wax* than of this Oyntment. I never yet heard of any Oyntment that would *ſtretch Seven or Eight Inches in a fine Thread before it broke,* tho' I cannot ſay what ſort of Stuff may be made by *Conjurers.* I wiſh Mr. *Bragge* would have been ſo kind as to have mark'd down the Page in Mr. *Glanville* where this Oyntment is to be met with, that we might have ſeen his skill at *Analogy.* But, perhaps he thought every Body troubled their Heads as much about *Witches* and *Wizards* as he has done of late. But whatever Mr. *Glanville's* Oyntment may be, that he ſhould be thus forward to think of it; I fancy that had he ſpent half ſo much time in ſtudying Nature, as he has done in ranſacking into *Books of Witchcraft,* he would have found no occaſion to have run to Mr. *Glanville,* or any one elſe, for a Solution of this ſtrange Appearance. It is plain, that there is in all *Feathers* whatſoever, beſides their proper Nouriſhment, a kind of *viſcous matter,* which ſerves to faſten them the more ſtrongly in their proper *Sockets*; and therefore it is natural enough to ſuppoſe, that this gradually ouzing out of the *Feathers* might in time be collected together in ſuch a quantity, as to form that *viſcous Subſtance* which Mr. *Bragge* ſpeaks of. However, from the order in which theſe Feathers are placed, Mr. *Bragge* concludes them to be *ſome Deviliſh Enchantment*: but the Reaſons upon which he builds this Concluſion are ſo very peculiar to himſelf, that I deſire the Reader would

P. 27.

P. 35.

give himſelf the trouble of conſidering them. He tells us *P.* 34. That unleſs theſe Cakes be ſuppoſed to be ſome *Deviliſh Enchantment, no account can poſſibly be given how they ſhould come there; and that it is really ſtrange that the Feathers ſhould be ſo cloſely knit together, and ranked in ſuch an exact Mathematical Order*; which Argument when reduc'd to Syllogiſm will ſtand thus;

Every Thing that is not to be accounted for, muſt of neceſſity be done by Witchcraft.

Theſe Cakes of Feathers are not to be accounted for: Ergo--------

The Minor is proved thus:

Every Thing that Mr. Bragge *cannot give a Reaſon of, is not to be accounted for.*

Mr. Bragge *cannot give any Reaſon of theſe Cakes of Feathers*: Ergo-------

Now, is not this (think you) a very notable Argument? Does not he plainly make Human Wiſdom the Meaſure of Natural Powers, and his own Knowledge the Standard of Human Wiſdom? If I may be allowed to argue after this Faſhion, I can write Books of Witchcraft as well as he. Nay, if this be good Reaſoning, I will undertake to prove, that his Hand, when he wrote his *Narrative*, was moved by *Sorcery*. But ſince Mr. *Bragge* looks upon this to be a thing ſo very unaccountable, I will venture being call'd a Fool for once, and try what I can do towards the Explaining this dark *Myſtery*.

I told you before, that there was in all *Feathers*, beſides their proper Nouriſhment, a ſort of *glutinous Matter*, which ſerved to fix them in their proper Sockets, and which I ſuppoſed to be that *Viſcous Subſtance* by which theſe Cakes were cemented. Now it is no way unlikely, that this Humour ouzing (as I ſaid before) out of the Ends of theſe ſmall Feathers, might, by a

ſort

ſort of *Magnetiſm* or *Electricity*, mutually attract each other, and ſo be brought into that regular Form in which they were found. Mr. *Bragge* may poſſibly look upon the Words *Attraction*, *Magnetiſm*, and *Electricity*, to be *Magical* Terms; and think, that I am now with him, going to *conjure* theſe Feathers together into Cakes: But it is very likely that the Reader may be of another Opinion, as knowing that I ſpeak ſuch Language as every *Babe in Philoſophy* underſtands. This attractive Force is viſible enough in *Glaſs*, *Jett*, &c. but particularly in *Amber*, from whence the Word *Electricity* has its Riſe; and I cannot ſay how far this viſcous Matter, that is found in Feathers, may partake of the Nature of theſe Bodies; and whether it may not be endued with a greater Degree of *Magnetiſm*, than any of them all. From this Suppoſition then, it will be very eaſy to give a Rational Account of every Circumſtance relating to theſe Cakes of Feathers. For firſt, it follows from hence, that the Quills Ends of the Feathers muſt of Neceſſity meet in the *Center*, and the Feathers therefore make up the *Radij* of that Circle which they compoſe. For this viſcous Matter ouzing out of the Quills Ends, the Quills Ends will therefore be alone endued with this Magnetick Force, and conſequently, will mutually attract each other, and meet together in the very Form which we now ſpeak of.

The greateſt Difficulty here is, how theſe Feathers ſhould be exactly the ſame in Number in every *Cake*. But to this, perhaps, it may not be amiſs to ſay, that the Feathers being all of them pretty much of the ſame Magnitude, it does of Neceſſity require the ſame Number of them to compoſe a Circle: And therefore, ſince we muſt ſuppoſe this *attractive Force* to be uniform in its Action, it muſt therefore attract till no more can be attracted; *i. e.* till the *Center* is filled up, or, in other Words, till the ſame Number of Feathers is attracted together in every Cake. If this viſcous Matter be endued

dued with a Power of attracting Feathers, it is easy to understand how these Quill Ends should each of them attract Hairs, or any such small and solid Bodies about them, before they were attracted to one another. Here therefore we have, in the last place, an Account of those short Hairs, black and grey, which Mr. *Bragge* found matted together in the *Center* of this *viscous Matter*. He is willing to suppose these to be *Cats Hair*; but my Argument would be every whit as good as his, if I should barely say, *I suppose the contrary*. But I do not content my self with *barely saying* so; there being a very good Reason to be given, to show the Vanity of Mr. *Bragge*'s Notion. It is known, that most, if not all *Fowls*, have such Hairs as are here spoken of; and that these are pluck'd off in considerable Quantities, along with the *Down* and *Feathers*: Why therefore Mr. *Bragge* should not think of these, (or fifty other Sorts of Hair, which might accidentally be mixed amongst the Down) as well as of Cats Hair, is what I can see no manner of Reason for; unless he had a mind to give Credit to his Story of *these Cats speaking*. It is very likely he might have this in his Head: And he who considers well of his way of Reasoning, will not perhaps find it hard to imagine he might lay some Stress upon it. He might perhaps think, that the *Court* had entertain'd such an Opinion of his *Understanding*, as that his *bare Supposition* might weigh as much with them, as another Man's *positive Knowledge*.

Thus far I have endeavour'd to give an Account of these *Cakes of Feathers*, both as to the manner of their coming into these Pillows, and as to the Form and Order in which these Feathers were placed. Mr. *Bragge* perhaps will give this no better Name than *Chance* (as he is wont to do to every thing that is neither Witchcraft, nor what he understands) and say, That it is as *inconceivable to him how this should be, as that the 24 Letters of the Alphabet should by mere Accident fall into one of the Verses of* Horace. If he had said the same thing with Relation

tion to his own Narrative, I might have allowed of what he ſays without doing my ſelf much Damage---. But to go on I can for the Readers Satisfaction aſſure him, that this Account is more than pure Speculation, ſince Experience tells us, that it is a very common thing for Feathers to *matt* after ſome ſuch Faſhion as this, if they be not well dried before they are put into *Beds*, *Pillows*, &c. And for this Reaſon it is (as I am told by thoſe who underſtand theſe Matters) that they uſually *bake* their Feathers before they apply them to theſe Purpoſes, that ſo by drawing out all this *Viſcous Moiſture*, they may prevent them from running into theſe *Heaps*, *Cakes*, or whatever you will call them. But yet after all theſe Attempts that I have made to give a natural Solution of the Manner by which theſe Cakes of Feathers were collected together, I muſt be ſo ingenuous as to let the Reader know, that had I a ſufficient Proof that this Story is exactly true in all its Circumſtances, I ſhould not look upon it as a thing wholly *unſurprizing*.

But it is here to be obſerved, that we have only Mr. *Bragge*'s Evidence to ſupport the moſt conſiderable of them, which for ſome Reaſons I ſhall hint at by and by, I do not think my ſelf obliged ſo much to rely upon. Mr. *Chauncy* indeed *ſaw* theſe Cakes of Feathers, and ſo it is likely might ſeveral others; but as to the *Structure* and *Compoſition* of them (which is the only Thing that can be wondred at) that depends *entirely* upon Mr. *Bragge*'s Authority. Mr. *Chauncy* did in Court *juſt mention* theſe Feathers, and referred himſelf for a further Account to Mr. *Bragge*; which by the by wou'd have been but a very odd way of proceeding, if Mr. *Chauncy* had known any thing more of the Matter. For his Buſineſs there was not only to *tell the Judge a Story*: If that had been all, it might have been proper enough to have referred himſelf to Mr. *Bragge*, as being perhaps the better Spokeſman of the Two; but he was called as an *Evidence* to atteſt the Truth, ſo far as he

he could, of the Facts there related; and therefore ſhou'd have ſaid what he had known, if he did know any thing more, and not to have left it wholly to Mr *Bragge*; for by this means the Credit of this Story which wou'd then have been ſupported by Two Witneſſes, ſtands now upon the ſingle Authority of one. It is therefore my Opinion, that the true Reaſon why Mr. *Chauncy* ſaid no more of theſe Feathers, was, becauſe he knew no more; ſo that we muſt now rely upon Mr. *Bragge* for the Truth of this Story, which I muſt confeſs, I am not very inclinable to do. The Reader may perhaps be apt to think I am not ſo fair as I ought to be, and I doubt not but Mr. *Bragge* will be very angry that I will not believe him: But when he has made out the Truth of his *Portſmouth Story*, I will then acknowledge my Fault, and ask his Pardon. Mr. *Bragge* underſtands very well what I mean, and knows that if it be true, it is a thing upon *Record*, and ſo, eaſily proved; and therefore I ſhall content my ſelf with giving him this Hint, being unwilling to expoſe him too much to the World. All that I ſhall ſay further upon this Story, is, that I could heartily have wiſhed that ſome of theſe Feathers had been preſerved; it might have been perhaps more to Mr. *Bragge*'s Credit, and I am ſure much more to the Satisfaction of others. The Judge wiſhed he could have ſeen them; and I think his Deſire was reaſonable: For it was but juſt, to demand the Feathers to ſupport the Evidence, or elſe to ſend the Evidence after the Feathers.

I ſhall conclude this Head only with obſerving, That here is nothing in all this Story of the Feathers, which (ſuppoſing as Mr. *Bragge* would have it, that they were ſome deviliſh Inchantment) does afford the leaſt ſhadow of Proof, that *Jane Wenham* was concerned in it.

But we are now come to a Story which, of all others, ſeems to bid the faireſt for proving *Anne Thorne*'s Diſorders to be ſomething more than Natural. *Page* 30. we are told, That ſoon after ſhe was returned from the Aſ-

ſizes,

ſizes, on the 5th of *March* at Night, ſhe had a terrible Fit, and was oftentimes *ſadly pinched, in the Breaſt, and other Parts of the Body.* And to ſhow that this was neither Fancy nor Falſhood, we are further informed, that *there were viſible Marks of theſe Pinches remaining upon her Body ſeveral Days after.* Now it may here be enquired, how it came to paſs, that this poor Maid ſhould be ſo *diſmally pinched.* For admitting that every other Symptom might be purely Natural, yet this *Pinching* may ſeem to be ſo uncommon and unheard-of a thing in any natural Diſtemper, as to be wholly unreſolvable into natural Cauſes.

But now with regard to this Story. Here are again ſeveral Things very material to be enquired into, and whereof I find no manner of Account in Mr. *B*'s Relation. And, in the firſt Place, I think it may reaſonably enough be moved, Whether or no this *Anne Thorne* were in Bed, or in her Cloaths, when ſhe complained of this Pinching. The Story does not poſitively and clearly determine this, but there are ſome Circumſtances in it (ſuch as it being done in the *Night*, and it being ſaid of ſome Perſons that *they ſtood by her Bed-ſide*) which do pretty much incline me to believe the former. Now if this be the Caſe, it is very poſſible that this Wench might pinch *her ſelf*, at the very time ſhe complained of this Pinching, without any body's being able to take any Notice of it. But admitting that ſhe was in her Cloaths, and ſo not capable of doing all this, can any body be aſſured that ſhe was pinched actually at the ſame time that ſhe complained? Was her Body carefully ſearched? and is it certain that ſhe had none of theſe Marks about her before theſe Complaints? If not (as it is very likely) might ſhe not then pinch o disfigure her ſelf by ſome other means, ſome time before, when ſhe had an Opportunity, and afterwards feign her ſelf to be pinched? Or might not theſe Marks be the Effect of ſome *natural Diſtemper*, and *barely* ſuch (I mean without any Pain attending them) which ſhe might afterwards appeal to,

to make her Impoſtures the more credible? Either of theſe may be ſuppoſed; nor do I here find any thing that makes it any ways unlikely, unleſs it be, that *theſe Marks always appeared freſh after her Complaining.* But this is of no Force, becauſe ſome Marks will appear freſh for a long time; and I do not think it poſſible for any one barely, upon the Inſpection of ſuch a Mark as Mr. *Bragge* ſpeaks of, to ſay preciſely the Time when it was done. So that I ſee nothing of Contradiction here, to ſuppoſe either that theſe were *bare* Marks ariſing from pure natural Cauſes, and deſignedly made uſe of to ſupport and give credit to this Story of her being pinched; or that the Girl might be all this while *her own Tormentor.* To this latter indeed it may be ſaid, That it ſeems a thing unnatural for Perſons to put themſelves voluntarily to ſo much Pain and Torture. But I do not ſay it was done voluntarily; ſhe might be a little beſides her ſelf perhaps when ſhe did it. Beſides, if ſhe were not, I cannot tell what Motive ſhe might have to play the *Impoſtor*; perhaps it was ſo much for her Intereſt to act her Part well, as to make her abundant Recompence for any Uneaſineſſes of that Nature.

But if yet it cannot be admitted that this Girl had any Trick or Deſign in her Head, but that it was ſomething real, and in which ſhe was purely Paſſive: It may, after all this Noiſe of outward Marks and Signs, be very reaſonably queſtioned, whether or no ſhe was *truly* and *properly* pinched. The Maid does not ſay that ſhe *ſaw* any one pinch her; and therefore the moſt that can be ſaid is this, *That the Girl often felt a Senſation in ſeveral Parts of her Body, like that which is occaſioned by Pinching*; *i. e.* a *quick* and *tranſient* Pain in ſome Part, which, it ſeems, was followed by the ſame *redneſs*, *blackneſs*, &c. which are uſually ſeen upon ſuch Occaſions. But now what is here in all this which may not be occaſioned by ſome ſudden Contractions or Twitchings of the Fibres of thoſe Parts, and a Stagnation of the Blood and Humours conſequent thereupon? It is evident, that Pain,

and

and all other Senſations, are (ſo far as our Bodies are concerned in them) nothing more than a certain and peculiar Motion of the ſenſible Organs; and that external Objects affect us for no other Reaſon, than becauſe they are fitted or diſpoſed to move the Parts of our Bodies after this or that peculiar manner. From whence it follows, that the Concurrence of theſe external Objects, to the raiſing of theſe Senſations in us, is purely Accidental, (*i. e.* not neceſſary) and that the ſame Senſation will always follow the ſame Motion of the Organ, by what Force ſoever that Organ may be ſuppoſed to be moved. Now if this be the Caſe, why may not ſome *internal* and *natural* Cauſe, by exciting ſuch a kind of Motion in the ſenſible Parts of this Woman's Body, as is uſually raiſed upon Pinching, raiſe the very ſame Senſation in her *as if ſhe were*, and make her believe that *ſhe really was*, pinched? I cannot ſee any thing abſurd in all this. But becauſe this may be imagined to be no more than pure Speculation, I would deſire the Reader to obſerve what the Judicious Dr. *Sydenham* has taught us concerning the *Hyſterical Illneſs*. He tells us, that it is frequent in Diſtempers of this kind, for the Spirits *to concenter themſelves from all Parts of the Body, in a certain Point of the Pericranium, and to cauſe ſuch a ſharp and piercing Pain, as if a Nail were driven into the Skull.* Which Solution he handſomely enough illuſtrates by the Compariſon of a Burning-glaſs; where, *as the Rays of Light acting with an united Force, burn with the greater ſtrength and quickneſs; ſo in this Caſe, the Spirits ruſhing impetuouſly altogether into one Part, do make a more quick and violent Divulſion of the ſenſible Membranes.* Now, I ſay, if the Spirits by theſe irregular and tumultuous Motion into the Head, can cauſe the ſame, or much ſuch ſort of, Pain, as if a Nail were driven into that Part, purely by giving ſuch a peculiar Motion to thoſe Fibres; Why may not they, ruſhing upon any other Part, with another kind of Motion, raiſe alſo the Senſation of Nipping or

Diſſert. Epiſtol. ad *Gul. Cole*, p. 104, 126.

 Pinching,

Pinching, by the Means of the ſame internal Cauſes.

But that this is a thing *very poſſible*, we can no way ſo well prove as by ſhewing that *it is in Fact true*. And this I think we may in ſome Meaſure do from the *Obſervations* of the above-mentioned Author.

P. 108,109. For in the ſame Diſſertation he tells us, That this Diſtemper (meaning the *Hyſterical Ilneſs*) is apt *not only to affect the Internal Parts, but alſo the External*, viz. *the Muſcular Fleſh, eſpecially the Shoulders, Hands, Legs, and Thighs, cauſing ſometimes a Pain, and ſometimes a Swelling upon the Part affected.* He tells us further, that *theſe Pains do leave behind them ſuch a Tenderneſs upon the Skin, as will hardly endure the Touch, juſt as if the Fleſh had been beaten.*

Proceſſus integ ſub Tit. Aff Hyſt.

All this we learn from this *Sagacious* and *Accurate Phyſician*; and it is what the daily Experience and Obſervation of others do abundantly confirm. And now I wou'd deſire Mr. *Bragge* to conſider a little, how much this differs from the *Pinching*, whereof we are now ſpeaking. It is, I think, *at leaſt* evident from hence, that Nature is able to go a great way in producing ſuch Effects, which, if if we did not daily obſerve them, wou'd appear to us to be very wonderful; and although I cannot ſay that theſe Two Caſes are *exactly* alike in all Circumſtances, yet their Features bear ſo great a Likeneſs to each other, that we may reaſonably enough ſuppoſe them to be Children of the ſame Parent. It is not neceſſary that they ſhould be *exactly* the ſame in all Reſpects; it is ſufficient for my Purpoſe, if any thing in Nature can be met with, that bears *any Reſemblance* to the Caſe now before us: And if this be here granted me, as I think it cannot reaſonably be denied me, thoſe Difficulties, which may ariſe from ſome ſmall Differences between them, will be of no Moment: For it is by no means hard to be conceived, how Nature ſhould often vary in the Methods of her operating in

Human

Human Bodies; and that the ſame Diſtemper ſhou'd appear under different Faces, according to the Difference of the Subjects upon which it reſides. This is all that I have to ſay concerning this Matter, taking it for granted that the Reader has already obſerved, that there is nothing at all in it, which has any Relation to *Jane Wenham*.

There is now but one Story more, which remains to be conſider'd; and that is at *P.* 31. where we are told, *That a certain Woman accidentally clapping her Hand againſt the Bed's Head, immediately received Three Blows upon the Palm of her Hand*, &c. It is not ſaid here who this Woman was, that we can tell whether or no ſhe is to be believed, or not too much given to Fancy and Whimſy. It might be the Lady that ſwooned away at the taking of the Pins, for any thing Mr. *Bragge* has told us, unleſs his ſaying, that *She was one that had but little Faith in theſe Matters*, argues any thing to the contrary. But ſuppoſing it was ſomebody elſe, and that ſhe was one who formerly had no great Faith in Things of this Nature, I do not know how much her Faith mgiht have been improved by thoſe many ſtrange Appearances that had lately hapned, nor whether her Imagination might not by this time have been wrought up to ſuch a Pitch, as wou'd enable her to feel whatſoever ſhe pleaſed: But I can ſay but little to this, for Want of a more explicite Knowledge of the Perſon here ſpoken of, the Circumſtances ſhe was then in, and the Manner of her receiving this Blow; and therefore I ſhall not pretend to give any Account for it, but ſhall leave it as I find it.

And now *I have* likewiſe *done with the Story of this unhappy Maid*: In examining which I have, I hope, paſſed by nothing that is material enough to be conſidered. There are however ſome Circumſtances of a more *general* Nature, which frequently occur throughout this whole Narrative; and which therefore to avoid Repetition, I deſignedly reſerved to be conſidered by themſelves. And to theſe I now betake my ſelf, and ſhall

in

in the handling them, according to the Method firſt laid down, conſider what Foundation there is in them to build this Opinion of *Witchcraft* on, and alſo the Reaſons they afford to charge this *Witchcraft* particularly upon *Jane Wenham*.

The Firſt that I ſhall take notice of, is that of *Anne Thorne*'s being ſo frequently recovered out of her Fits by Prayer, which, Mr. *Bragge* ſays, is *ſo great an Argument of their being immediately inflicted upon her by Evil Spirits.* With regard to which I muſt beg leave to enquire,

1. Whether or no it be ſo certain as Mr. *Bragge* ſuppoſes, that ſhe was ever recovered out of any Fit at all by theſe Means? This is a Queſtion which perhaps Mr. *Bragge* may not think ſo modeſtly put, after the Thing has been atteſted upon ſo many Experiments, and upon ſuch good Authority. But I do here declare, that I do not in the leaſt call in Queſtion the Credit of thoſe Perſons who have atteſted theſe Things: I do verily believe them to be Perſons of Integrity; and do not make any doubt at all, but that *Anne Thorne* was, *according to all Appearance*, recover'd out of many Fits by the Method Mr. *Bragge* ſpeaks of. But then withal, I think it may reaſonably enough be doubted, whether or no ſhe did not very much impoſe upon thoſe about her, by making a ſhew of ſome Diſorders, which in themſelves were really none. I do not ſay, that *all her Fits* were no more than Sham and Impoſture; on the contrary, I do verily believe, and have all along ſuppoſed, that ſhe did labour under *ſome real Diſtemper*: But then it does not neceſſarily follow, that all that ſhe ſeemed to have, were of the ſame kind. *Anne Thorne* might (if ſhe pleaſed) mix and interſperſe ſeveral Counterfeits with her real Diſorders; and this (we know) is no more than is common with all Deceivers, who imagine (and very juſtly too) that the moſt certain way to gain Credit to their *Impoſtures*, is to interweave them with ſomething that is *real* and *true*. What is here ſaid of Fits in general, may alſo be applied to the particular Sym-

Symptoms of each Fit with relation to one another. For here too may be a Mixture of Truth and Falſhood, of ſuch Symptoms as are the Natural and Genuine Offspring of the Diſtemper it ſelf, and of others which are no more than the Effects of turbulent and over-heated Imagination, or of ſomething worſe.

From theſe Obſervations, there naturally ariſes a very conſiderable Difficulty, which muſt be very well clear'd up, before we ſhall be able to come to any Determination of the Point between us; *viz.* How to diſtinguiſh between thoſe Fits of *Anne Thorne* which are *true* and *real* Diſtempers, and thoſe (if any there be of that kind) which are only *Cheat*, or the bare Deluſions of *Fancy* and *Imagination*. Unleſs we can do this, all Diſputes about *Anne Thorne's being recovered out of her Fits by Prayer* will be to very little purpoſe; becauſe the very Terms of the Queſtion will be without any certain and determinate Signification; it being one thing to be recovered out of a *true* Fit by Prayer, and another to be recovered out of a Diſorder which is *counterfeited*, or at beſt but the *wild Deluſions of a diſtemper'd Brain*. Now there is but one way that I can think of, which wou'd have ſettled this Point upon a clear Bottom, and put an End to all Diſputes ariſing from it; and that is, To have obſerved, and carefully examined into every particular Symptom, that diſcovered it ſelf at thoſe times, when ſhe was thus recovered by Prayers, and to have ſhown them to be ſuch as did of Neceſſity argue the Fit to have been a true and proper Diſtemper. This, I ſay, wou'd have been the only way to have cleared up all theſe Difficulties, and to have render'd the Story plain and intelligible; and this, give me leave to tell Mr. *Bragge*, was what might reaſonably have been expected from him, had he had any Regard to his own Credit, or the Readers Satisfaction. But inſtead of this, we find nothing but Darkneſs and Uncertainty; ſo little Exactneſs has been obſerved with relation to this particular, that I do here challenge him

to

to ſhow ſo much as one Relation, where it is poſſible for any one to form a tolerable Judgment of that Fit from which ſhe is ſaid to have been recovered by Prayers. *Pag.* 12. Mr. *Bragge* tells us *ſhe had a diſmal Fit.* *Pag.* 15. that ſhe had *ſeveral returns of her Fits.* *Pag.* 16. that *ſhe was in a violent Fit.* *Pag.* 19. that *ſhe had one Fit more.* *Pag.* 22. that *ſhe continued to have her Fits*, &c. Now I would fain know what is any one the wiſer for all this? Or what could Mr. *Bragge* poſſibly propoſe to himſelf from this indiſtinct relation? What could he imagine, that any one who reads this Narrative of his, ſhould be capable of underſtanding, by his ſaying in general Terms only, *That the Maid was in a Fit in a violent Fit*, &c. The Word *Fit* is a very complex Term, and contains in it as many Notions almoſt as the Word *Diſtemper.* It ſignifies *preciſely* nothing at all; and therefore all that any Man can gather from hence is no more than this, *viz. That* Anne Thorne *was to all outward appearance in ſome diſorder, out of which ſhe was recovered by Prayer.* Had Mr. *Bragge* therefore a mind to have made the World believe, that there was any thing wonderful in all this, he ought to have ſet down the *particular Symptoms* of that Diſtemper which he calls *a Fit*, and out of which ſhe was recovered by Prayer. At leaſt, he ſhould never have omitted ſuch (if any there were) which gave demonſtration that the Diſtemper was *true* and *real.* By this means, he would have given every one an opportunity of judging as well as himſelf, and thereby wholly diſcharged himſelf as a Relator. Whereas, by omitting ſuch things as theſe, it looks as if he had not intended theſe Accounts *for the Information of underſtanding and judicious Men*, but only *to amuſe the Ignorant*, who are ready enough to take things in groſs. But to go on,

P. 11. we find *Mr. Bragge* ſomething more exact, and giving us one Symptom of that grievous *Fit* which *Anne Thorne* is there ſaid to have had upon her. But the misfortune is, it is ſuch a one as will do him no manner

of

of kindneſs; he ſays here ſhe was *Speechleſs*, (*i. e.* I ſuppoſe *without ſpeech*) and ſo indeed it is ſaid of her in ſome other Places. But before I can believe there is any thing ſtrange in all this, I would firſt deſire to know what Mr. *Bragge* underſtands by any Perſons *being ſpeechleſs*? Is it, *not to ſpeak becauſe one cannot*, or *becauſe one will not*? If the latter, what wonder is it, that a Wench who deſigned to play the Cheat, and make People believe ſhe was inchanted, ſhould vouchſafe to open her Mouth when any one was praying by her? But this perhaps is not Mr. *Bragge's* Notion of *being ſpeechleſs*. She was *ſpeechleſs* he ſays, *i. e.* (he ought to have ſaid) *ſhe could not ſpeak*. But how does Mr. *Bragge* know all this? Why for no other reaſon that I can ſee than *becauſe ſhe did not ſpeak*. May not then a Perſon hold his Tongue and ſay nothing if he ſees ſo fit? Is it neceſſary that this Maid ſhould never be ſilent, but when ſhe could not be otherwiſe? I have often heard, that Women-kind are much *given* to uſe their Tongues; but I did not know till now, that it was *Eſſential to them* to be always prating. In plain Terms, the Tongue is ſo much at our own diſpoſal as nothing more; it may be uſed or not uſed, juſt as our Humours lead us. And therefore I think it is but a weak way of reaſoning, to conclude, that becauſe a Perſon who ſaid nothing before, is obſerved to come to her Tongue immediately upon hearing any one at Prayers, that therefore ſhe was recover'd by Prayers out of any true and real Diſtemper.

P. 6. We read, that beſides her being *ſpeechleſs* ſhe had *ſtrange Tremblings and Convulſions of the Body*; but neither will all this in the leaſt help him. For it is to be obſerved, that this was not one of thoſe Fits out of which ſhe was recovered by Prayer, neither do I find throughout this whole Book, that ever ſhe was recovered from any Convulſions at all, by the means of Prayer: beſides, if ſhe were, we are all this while as much in the Dark as ever. For we are not told (which

we certainly ought to have been) *upon what Parts of the Body* theſe Convulſions were, and whether upon the Muſcles that ſerve to *voluntary* or *involuntary* motions. If theſe Muſcles which are here ſaid to be convulſed, were under the Power and Regulation of the *Will*, there is nothing in Nature more eaſily counterfeited than theſe Convulſions; and therefore till this be clearly decided, it is impoſſible for one to know what to beleive concerning it. I do admire, that any Man of Senſe and Judgment ſhould thus confound and jumble things together, which ought ſo carefully to have been diſtinguiſhed! Surely, Mr. *Bragge* muſt have a very odd Notion of Mankind, to think any one would be perſwaded to ground an Opinion upon ſo weak and uncertain a Foundation! It would have been tolerable enough to have heard an *ignorant Mechanick*, or *an Old Woman* in a Chimney-corner *talking* at this rate; but for a Philoſopher, and one that ſets up for an Hiſtorian too, to *write* after this lame and imperfect manner is what I think is hardly pardonable.

At *P.* 31. we have an account of another *Fit*, out of which ſhe was recover'd by Prayer, and where Mr. *Bragge* has obliged us with an account of one *Symptom*. But here to countenance us a little, we have it ſeems the Opinion of a very able Phyſician, *that it might be no more than counterfeit*. But perhaps the Doctor's Opinion does not weigh much with Mr. *Bragge*, (tho' I perceive he can rely very much upon it, when it ſerves his turn) he is a perfect *Infidel*, he tells us, in theſe Caſes, and therefore what he ſays he would have us ſuppoſe, not to be ſo *free* and *unprejudiced* as it ought to be. Beſides, the Girl is now *ſadly pinched*, which ſhews the Diſtemper to be ſomething *real*. Well let this be ſo for once; and will Mr. *Bragge* ſay, that ſhe was recover'd out of this by Prayer? Pray let him look back to *P.* 30. where he will find under his own Hand, *That although ſhe was prayed by all that Day yet ſhe was ever and anon moſt ſadly pinch'd*. In this Caſe then, the only

Symptoms

Symptom which could not be counterfeited, could not be removed by Prayer.

In ſhort, there is but one Fit in this whole Book (beſides thoſe of her Running, and Leaping, after thoſe uncommon Rates) but what may, for any thing Mr. *Bragge* has told us to the contrary, be pure Cheat and Impoſture, and that is at *P.* 18. Here we are told, that *ſhe was as cold as a dead Corpſe, her Noſe pinch'd, her Pulſe and Breath gone.* Now the Motion of the Heart upon which all theſe Symptoms depend, is altogether *involuntary*, theſe therefore I grant could not be counterfeited. If therefore ſhe can be recovered out of this Fit by Prayer, I will ſay not one Word more, but freely grant the thing that Mr. *Bragge* deſires. But now what an unlucky Accident is this? This, which is the only Inſtance that could have done Mr. *Bragge* any ſervice, bears directly againſt him. Here it ſeems Prayers are of no manner of Service, neither is it poſſible to recover her, till *Jane Wenham* by coming in *unties the Inchantment.* But of that by and by.

By this time I hope Mr. *Bragge* is ſomewhat ſenſible that I was not ſo unreaſonably ſcrupulous when I put the Queſtion, *Whether or no it was ſo certain as he pretends, that* Anne Thorne *was really recovered out of any Fit by Prayer?* For, after all this Noiſe and Buſtle that has been made about it, it does not appear that ever ſhe was (I mean, out of ſuch Fits, as were true and real Diſtempers). And I muſt here beg leave to obſerve, That the Methods then taken were not likely to bring this Matter to a fair Determination. For theſe Prayers were always uſed in the *Hearing* and *Preſence* of the Girl, (for, it ſeems, ſhe *was all along very ſenſible*) and this gave her all the Scope imaginable to play the Cheat, if ſhe had any Inclinations ſo to do. Whereas had theſe Perſons prayed by themſelves, in a private Room, ſo that ſhe could not have had the leaſt Knowledge or Intimation of it, this would have prevented *P.* 10.

all Counterfeit in the Maid her ſelf, and cut off all Suſpicion of it in others. Whether or no Prayers offered up to God after this manner, are leſs effectual than thoſe which are offer'd up in the Sick Perſon's Preſence, is not my Buſineſs to determine. Thus much is certain, That if the Maid had recovered ſo many times together, when ſhe was prayed for in private, this would have been a ſtrong Proof, that there was ſomething in her Caſe more than ordinary. But her Recovering upon being pray'd for in her own Preſence, does by no means prove thus much; (unleſs it be firſt ſhown that her Fits were real) becauſe ſhe being ſo ſenſible of what was doing, might eaſily come out of them at that time, if they were no more than Counterfeit. But,

2. Becauſe I promiſed to deal very fairly, I will now grant all that Mr. *Bragge* would have, and (for Argument-ſake) ſuppoſe that *Anne Thorne* was recover'd out of *real Fits*, by the Methods whereof we are now ſpeaking. For even this being admitted, I can by no means ſee, how it is ſo convincing a Proof as Mr. *Bragge* pretends, That theſe Fits *were immediately inflicted by evil Spirits*. He tells us, indeed, (to prove this) *That our Saviour has preſcribed Prayer, as the beſt Remedy againſt the Power and Malice of Satan*; That *there is great Force in it, to drive out evil Spirits*; and that *our Saviour and his Apoſtles caſt out many Devils by that means* All this is very true, but nothing at all to his Purpoſe. For it is but an odd way of Arguing, to ſay, That *becauſe Devils may be caſt out by the Force of Prayer, that therefore all Curing of Diſtempers by this means, is Caſting out Devils.* If indeed our Saviour had told us, that Prayer was effectual in Curing ſuch Diſtempers *only* as are inflicted by Evil Spirits, then Mr. *Bragge's* Argument would have been ſtrong and good: But to this we are told the contrary. For the Apoſtle St. *James* adviſes, *Jam.* 5. 14, 15. *That if any man be ſick, he ſhould call together the Elders*

of

of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with Oyl in the Name of the Lord: And then promiſes, *That the Prayer of Faith ſhall ſave the ſick, and the Lord ſhall raiſe him up.* It is not here ſaid, If any Man be *bewitched* among you, or *be poſſeſſed with an Evil Spirit*; but *if any man be ſick*; meaning all Sorts of Diſtempers whatſoever. And it is, I think, beyond Diſpute, that it was frequent, not only in the Times of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, but for many Years after, for Biſhops of the Church to cure many Natural Diſtempers by this means. So that *Anne Thorne*'s being recover'd out of her Fits by Prayer, is every whit as good an Argument to prove her Diſtemper to be Natural, as it is to prove it inflicted by an Evil Spirit; and for this very Reaſon it is an Argument for neither. All that it proves (if it be true) is, *That God has not yet wholly withdrawn this miraculous Power of Curing Diſeaſes, from his Miniſters*; but as to the *Nature* of the Diſtemper which is thus cured, it is no manner of an Argument, either one way or the other.

But we are now come to another Conſideration, which ſeems not only to be an Argument of Witchcraft, but which does alſo ſeem to affix this Witchcraft upon *Jane Wenham*; and that is, *the Recovery of* Anne Thorne *out of her Fits immediately upon* Jane Wenham's *coming to her.* But here again Mr. *Bragge*, according to his peculiar Way of relating, has told us only in general Terms, *that ſhe was in a Fit*; or if he has attempted at any time to *deſcribe* theſe Fits to us, it is done with ſo little Care and Exactneſs, that it is impoſſible that any one ſhould be able to form any certain Judgment concerning them. We are told *that ſhe was ſpeechleſs; that her Eyes were ſhut; that ſhe ſeemed to be in great Miſery and Torture, in a Swoon, Dead,* and the like. Now what any Man is able to gather from all this (unleſs he is able to conjure,) I cannot for my part imagine. What, I would

P. 9, 10, 11, 12, 17.

fain

fain know, did Mr. *Bragge* ſee in *Anne Thorne* at that time, which made him think *ſhe was in a Swoon*, or *Dead*? What *Symptoms* were then upon her, that we may be aſſured, theſe fainting Fits, which ſhe *ſeemed* to be in, were *truly* and *properly* ſuch? I am not able to gueſs what Mr. *Bragge* means by *ſeeming to be Dead*, or *ſeeming to be in a Swoon*, any more than that he and perhaps the reſt of the Perſons about her, thought her to be ſo: But how far *his*, or *their* Judgments, are to be relied upon in this Caſe, depends upon ſomething that I know nothing of, I mean *their Skill in thoſe Matters*, and *the Care and Exactneſs that were made uſe of in examining into every particular Circumſtance of her Diſorder*. And therefore, till I have better Information about theſe things, I cannot avoid being in the ſame Doubt that I was in with relation to the former Story; *viz.* Whether ever ſhe was recovered out of any Fits at all by *Jane Wenham's coming to her*. The Story indeed that is mentioned *Page* 18. may perhaps ſeem to put this Matter beyond diſpute. This I obſerved before, and acknowledge now, muſt be ſuppoſed to be ſome *real* Diſtemper; and yet it is here ſaid, *that ſhe was recovered at the ſight of* Jane Wenham. But I obſerve here, that ſince it does not appear that any other of her Fits were of the ſame Nature, this comes now to be conſidered *as one ſingle Caſe*, which (becauſe it may be no more than Accident) in my humble Opinion is not ſufficient to juſtify this Charge of *Witchcraft*. If ſhe had never recovered *but this one time*, I dare ſay no body would have been ſo raſh and fooliſhly credulous, as to have thought it a good Argument to fix this *Witchcraft* upon *Jane Wenham*. But if the other Fits were not real Diſtempers, this will then be truly the Caſe: This Story will then ſtand alone, and the Force of the others which ſhould *ſupport* and *eſtabliſh* it, will be entirely loſt.

But I need not inſiſt upon this Argument, ſince Mr *Bragge* himſelf has unluckily put one much better into my Hand. He has given us an Account of a certain

Perſon

Perſon, who was ſuppoſed to have been *bewitched*, and who alſo was recovered out of her Fits by the Touch of her, who was thought to have been the Perſon that had *bewitched* her. But an ingenious Perſon being there preſent, and objecting, it ſeems, that this Experiment was not ſufficient to find the Priſoner Guilty (who was now upon her Tryal) ſince the afflicted Perſon *perceiving* the Witch to touch her, might *counterfeit* all thoſe violent Motions, which, upon that Occaſion, were obſerved in her: It was deſired by the Judge, that ſome Eminent Gentlemen would attend this diſtempered Perſon, while ſhe was in one of her Fits at the other End of the Hall, and bring one of the *Witches* to her. They did ſo, it ſeems, and the Maid being blinded, one *Amy Duny* was brought near, but another Perſon touched her, and the Touch had the ſame Effect as that of the Witches had before. *Par.* 2. *p.* 11, 12.

This is the Story, as Mr. *Bragge* himſelf has related it; and becauſe I know he has a large Meaſure of Faith to beſtow upon things of this Nature, I cannot in the leaſt doubt but that he is fully perſwaded, that this Maid was *bewitched*, and *that ſhe then laboured* under ſome *real* Diſtemper of Body, when ſhe was recovered by the Touch of this Woman. Give me leave therefore to Philoſophize a little upon this Matter, and endeavour to give ſome Account of this extraordinary Accident.

And in order to this, I do here, in the firſt place, ſuppoſe, that this Maid finding her ſelf in ſome ſtrange Diſorder, did really imagine her ſelf to be *bewitched*, (whether ſhe really was or not, it does not ſignify) and from the common Opinion that People had of this *Amy Duny*, and ſome other concurrent Circumſtances, did likewiſe ſuppoſe her to be the Perſon that had bewitched her. This ſtrong Perſwaſion of hers, could not poſſibly but raiſe in her the higheſt Hatred and Averſion to this Woman, and the utmoſt Eagerneſs and Impatience to revenge her ſelf of her, whenever ſhe

came

came in her way. From this Heat of Paſſion, and immoderate Thirſt after Revenge, there will naturally ariſe a violent Commotion and Exagitation of the Spirits; which cannot but cauſe very great Diſturbances and Alterations in the *Animal Oeconomy*. By this the Blood, and other Humours, will receive a new Fermentation, and be raiſed up into violent Ebullitions, and irregular Motions; the ſolid Parts, which depend upon theſe, will be variouſly altered in the Tone, and Movement of them; in a word, the whole Frame of the Body will be diſcompoſed and put out of Order, and Nature will exert it ſelf after the moſt ſtrange and uncommon Methods. Hence thoſe diſtracted Looks, that Sparkling of the Eyes, and Tremblings of the Joints, which we obſerve in *Anger*; that Sprighlineſs of Countenance, thoſe Antick Geſtures, and Exultations, which we obſerve in *Exceſs of Joy*: Hence in ſhort, all thoſe different Faces which Nature puts on, in all the various Affections and Movements of the Soul.

From this Foundation, it will be no hard Matter to give ſome tolerable Account of the Caſe before us: For this Maid (as I before obſerved) being under ſuch ſtrong Perſwaſions, that ſhe was *bewitch'd* by this *Amy Duny*, it is eaſy to conceive, that immediately upon this Touch which ſhe received, *Nature* ſhould, by the Methods juſt now mentioned, be rowzed up, and by a *ſudden* and *violent* Plunge extricate her ſelf out of thoſe Difficulties under which ſhe then laboured. Neither does it at all alter the Caſe, that it was not *Amy Duny*, but ſome other Woman, that then touched her; for (as it was there righly obſerved) this Maid *might* be, and doubtleſs *was*, deceived in the Perſon; and imagine it to be the *Witch*, when it really was not. And it is the very ſame thing with relation to all the Effects and Conſequences, whether it were ſhe or any other that then touched her, provided the Maid did *fully believe*, and was *ſtrongly perſwaded*, that it was really ſhe. Mr. *Bragge* may not perhaps like this Solution of mine; but

but I do assure him it is no more than what may be confirmed by many parallel Instances. We see sometimes Persons in an *Hysterick Fit*, *Apoplexy*, or *Lethargy*, suddenly brought to themselves again by *plucking of the Hair*, *Burning*, *or nipping of the Skin*, and such like Methods; nay, I have known many even *breathing out their last Gasp*, who have been revived again *for several Days*, only by a *shrill* and *sudden* screaming with the Voice. Now all these Methods, however various in themselves, do yet unanimously agree in the Cause and Manner by which they operate. All that they do is to give a quick and sudden Motion to the *Spirits*; and it is wonderful to think with what an uncommon Force *Nature* will struggle upon these Occasions; and how *easily* and *speedily* it will master the most violent and dangerous Disorders.

And now, I hope, we have in some Measure open'd the way to the Springs of this new Life, which *Anne Thorne* received at the Approach of *Jane Wenham*. The Cases are so exactly the same, that I take it for granted the Reader must have gone along with me in the Application of them to each other. She was now in a *violent Fit*, which I suppose either to be *Hysterical*, or something *like it*, and her Brain being in some Disorder, tho' not so as to render her wholly insensible of her Condition, she has a strong Perswasion in her self, that this *Jane Wenham* had bewitched her. No wonder then that upon the Approach of this Woman to her, her languid Spirits were immediately alarm'd, that she was rowzed and awakened out of her Fit, and that she *thirsted* with Impatience *after her Blood*, whom she supposed to be the Occasion of all her Miseries.

We will now therefore give Mr. *Bragge* Leave to suppose as many real Fits as he pleases, and doubt not but we shall be able to solve them from the same Principles. There is one thing alone, which may seem to be an Objection against what I have said; which is, *That* Anne Thorne *never recovered upon the Touch of any other Person,*

although ſhe could not tell whether it were the real Witch or no. But I do here very much wonder, how Mr. *Bragge* could ſay all this with ſuch an Air of Aſſurance. The Experiment was never *made* but once that I can find, and that at *P.* 16. Here we are told, *That* Anne Thorne *was in a Fit*, and *that every one of thoſe Women, which* Jane Wenham *had accuſed, were brought to her, to ſee if they could raiſe her out of her Fit.* Well, what did they do? Why, Mr. *Bragge* himſelf tells us, *that they touched her, and ſpoke to her.* And yet he tells us here, *That* Anne Thorne *never recovered at the Touch of any Perſon beſides* Jane Wenham, *although ſhe could not tell whether it were ſhe or no.* But is it credible, that *Anne Thorne* ſhould have been thus long converſant witn *Jane Wenham*, and not know her by her *Voice*? Surely a Man muſt have neither *Care*, nor *Shame*, that can write at this rate! But let us proceed. After theſe Women had tried to recover *Anne Thorne*, and could do no good with her, we are told immediately, that *Jane Wenham* was brought to her *privately*, and that then *Anne Thorne* preſently flew at her. But *how privately*, I would know, was all this done? Was it *ſo privately* that Mr. *Bragge* can be ſatisfied, that ſhe had no Hint or Intimation of it? He talks ſo *coldly*, and ſo *ſparingly* here, that I almoſt begin to ſuſpect that he himſelf knows not how to affirm this. Well! but at *P.* 12. (which is the only Place beſides, where we read of *Jane Wenham*'s being brought to *Anne Thorne privately*) Mr. *Bragge* tells us ſomething more, which is, that *her Eyes were cloſed*: But was it therefore impoſſible, that ſhe ſhould know any thing of *Jane Wenham*'s coming to her? Is Mr. *Bragge* ſure that ſhe did not peep out a little under her Eye-lids? Lack-a-day, he does not conſider how expert ſuch young Wenches are at leering. But once more, I wou'd know, Were her Ears cloſed as faſt as her Eyes? Was ſhe not able to hear, becauſe ſhe could not ſee? Is Mr. *Bragge* aſſured, that amongſt ſuch a Throng of People that was generally about her, ſomebody or

other

other did not unluckily blab out, that *Jane Wenham* was a coming? I am very much afraid, that he can give no good Anſwer to all theſe Queſtions; but till he can, I muſt beg leave to be of Opinion, that *Anne Thorne* did ſome way or other ſmell out what they were a doing, and knew very well that was the Witch that touched her.

But if now after all this, the Devil muſt be concerned here, I ſee not yet what Ground they have from hence to charge Witchcraft upon *Jane Wenham*. A Witch, according to Mr. *Bragge*'s own Notion, is one *who conſents by any League or Contract to make Uſe of the Aid and Aſſiſtance of the Devil.* But now for my Life I cannot ſee, how it follows from this Maid's Recovery out of her Fits upon *Jane Wenham*'s coming in, that there ever was ſuch a Contract made between her and the Devil. If this Diſtemper depended upon the Devil's Power, may not the Devil ſuſpend this Power, and take off the Diſtemper whenſoever he pleaſes? Was it not as eaſy for him to do this upon any other Perſons coming into the Room, as it was upon *Jane Wenham*'s? Suppoſe then that it had come in the Devil's Head to have taken off this Charm, and releaſed the Maid out of her Fit, exactly at the Time that Mr. *Bragge* came in, wou'd any one have been ſo mad as immediately to have concluded Mr. *Bragge* to have been a *Conjurer*? I dare ſay, Mr. *Bragge* will not like this Concluſion; but why then will he be ſo partial, as to call *Jane Wenham* a Witch, upon the very ſame Foundation upon which he wou'd think it very hard himſelf to be ſo thought of? Mr. *Bragge* will ſay perhaps, that this is not the ſame Caſe; for *Jane Wenham* is known to be a very wicked Woman; and beſides, ſhe is already under ſtrong Suſpicions of Witchcraft. Very right; but ſhe is therefore, I think, the more proper Perſon for the Devil to play his Pranks upon. If he was concerned in the raiſing up *Anne Thorne* at the Touch or

Part 2. P. 29.

Approach of *Jane Wenham*, it was doubtleſs with a Deſign to bring her under the Name and Scandal of a Witch, and perhaps to deſtroy her; but this he wou'd have found it a very hard Matter to have done, had ſhe been a Perſon of an Eſtabliſhed Credit and Unſully'd Reputation. Beſides, it is reaſonable enough to think, that God wou'd not have permitted him to have brought ſo foul a Character upon any one that is truly Good and Virtuous; but I cannot ſay the ſame for thoſe who are otherwiſe. *Jane Wenham* may, for any thing I know, deſerve that Puniſhment which God has now laid upon her; and he may, for that Reaſon, have given her up wholly to the Devil's Mercy, to be dealt with juſt as he ſhall think fit to uſe her. So that after all this to do, about *Anne Thorne*'s Recovery at the Approach of *Jane Wenham*, nothing more can be argued from hence (even ſuppoſing the Devil was concerned in it) than that he had an Intention of doing Miſchief to them both. To the one, by afflicting her with Bodily Diſeaſe; and to the other by bringing her under a ſuſpicion of being the Perſon who acts as his Inſtrument, and who is the occaſion of all thoſe Sufferings.

But if this will not do, here are it ſeems ſeveral other Marks and Characters, which are ſufficient to fix Witchcraft upon *Jane Wenham*. The firſt of which is *Anne Thorn's crying out upon her, in all her Intervals as the occaſion of all her Torments.* This Mr. *Bragge* ſeems to lay a mighty ſtreſs upon, whenever he has occaſion to ſpeak of it. But with all due ſubmiſſiou, I take it to be a Plea ſo very weak, as nothing in Nature can be more. Pray is it not poſſible for a crack-brain'd Creature to believe her ſelf bewitch'd when there is really nothing in it? And if it be poſſible to be thus miſtaken in *the thing it ſelf*, is it not likewiſe poſſible, nay is it not *neceſſary* that ſhe ſhould miſtake in the *Author* of it? Or is it not poſſible, that one who has a deſign to play Tricks and ſet her Neighbours a ſtaring, to feign her ſelf bewitched, and then to make a huge Outcry upon any

Perſon

Perſon that ſerves beſt for her purpoſe? All theſe things are very poſſible, and therefore till it be proved that *Anne Thorne* is really bewitched, her crying out againſt *Jane Wenham* will prove no more, than either that ſhe thinks ſhe has bewitched her, or has a mind that other Folks ſhould think ſo. But neither, if this could be proved, do I ſee any great good it can do: For I can by no means think it neceſſary, that when any Perſon is bewitched, the Devil muſt needs inform him of the Inſtrument he has made uſe of. He might, as far as we can tell, take poſſeſſion of *Anne Thorne* and yet leave her wholly in the Dark upon whoſe Errand he came; and if ſo, I am not as yet, I muſt confeſs, ſo entirely ſatisfy'd with *Anne Thorne*'s *Infallibility*, as to think ſhe might not poſſibly miſtake and charge the Witchcraft upon a wrong Body. In this Caſe, if *Jane Wenham* had been never ſo innocent, ſhe would have been ſure notwithſtanding to have had all the Miſchief laid at her Door; for ſhe having ſo long been ſuſpected by all her Neighbours, *Anne Thorne* it is likely would have been ready enough to have concluded it was ſhe, without giving her ſelf the trouble of looking out any further. But after all, I ſee no abſurdity in ſuppoſing here, that the *Devil himſelf* might be the Deceiver; his Credit I think is not ſo very good, that what he ſays muſt always be depended upon. And therefore, he might perhaps put it into *Anne Thorne*'s Head, that this Mother *Wenham* had bewitched her, when at the ſame time it might neither be ſhe nor any other Perſon.

The *Threatnings* of *Jane Wenham* to *Anne Thorne*, do indeed ſeem to carry a much greater force along with them; and were I aſſured, that *Jane Wenham* did threaten *thoſe very Diſorders* to *Anne Thorne* which fell upon her afterwards, it would have inclined me very ſtrongly to conclude, that ſhe is ſome ſuch Perſon as Mr. *Bragge* pretends her to be: For this, if done for ſeveral times ſucceſſively, would have been a convincing proof of her being *conſcious* of her having receiv'd this Power

from

from the *Devil*, and consequently an Argument of some *League*, *Contract*, or *Assurance*, made with, or received from him. But now to shew the Reader with how little Judgment Mr. *Bragge* has apply'd this Consideration to the Case of *Jane Wenham*, I would desire him to observe these following Particulars.

1. That we have no sufficient Assurance from him, that *Anne Thorne was ever threatned at all*; and in this Point I am willing to allow Mr. *Bragge* more Latitude than he has allowed himself. He tells us *P.* 30. That one thing which fix'd this Witchcraft upon *Jane Wenham*, was *her Threatning* Anne Thorne *after her first running for Sticks*; he therefore puts the Issue of the whole Cause (I mean so far as the *Threatnings* of *Jane Wenham* are concerned) upon this one *Threatning*. But now I will here be so fair with him, as to take in all those Passages where the *Threatnings* of *Jane Wenham* are mention'd throughout this whole Narrative, and consider what grounds of Truth and Certainty are contained in them. Her saying to Mr. *Gardiner*, when she left his House, *That if she could not have Justice done there, she would have it somewhere else*, will not I suppose be consider'd as a *Threatning*. All that she can be thought to have intended by that is, *That since Mr.* Gardiner *had not in her Opinion allowed her a sufficient satisfaction, for the Indignities that had been offered to her by* John Chapman, *she would have recourse to some other Methods of doing her self Justice.* What these Methods were, she did not say, and for that reason no one can pretend to determine *precisely* what was her meaning; possibly she might think of going to Sir *Henry Chauncy* again, or to some other Justice of the Peace; or possibly she might intend to satisfy her self, by taking some *private* Revenge upon the Person who had injured her. But however this be, it is certain, that *Anne Thorne* cannot here be said to be *threatned*. One would be inclinable to think, that if any one was here *threatned* it was *John Chapman*, for he was the Person that she suppos'd had done her wrong, and he must therefore have suf-

fer'd

fer'd, if she had (what she called) *Justice done her.* The first Time therefore that it can be pretended that *Anne Thorne* was threatned is at *Page* 5. after she had been running for Sticks. Here we are informed, that *Jane Wenham* told *Anne Thorne*, that, *if she told any more such Stories of her* (meaning, that she had bewitched her) *it should be worse for her than it had been yet.* But now, here is not one Person besides *Anne Thorne* her self, that is pretended to have heard *Jane Wenham* say all this: *Anne Thorne* alone affirms it; *Jane Wenham* as confidently denies it: But here is not so much as a *third* Person to decide the Controversy, and tell us which of them is to be believed. We are told indeed, That whereas *Jane Wenham* said that she was at *Weston*, when *Anne Thorne* said she was *threatned* by her; *Thomas Ireland* made Oath, *that he saw her in the Town of* Walkerne, *within three Minutes of that very time.* This indeed (if true) proves *Jane Wenham* to be a *Liar*, but it does not prove her to be a *Witch*; for she might possibly be in Town at that time that she is here said to have *threatned Anne Thorne*, and yet never so much as have seen her. This Story then depending purely upon *Anne Thorne*'s Evidence, is with me of no weight at all. The next and only Place besides, where there is mention made of any *Threatning* is at, *P.* 30. Where we are given to understand, That *Jane Wenham* told *William Burroughs* of *Walkerne*, who went to see her in Prison, *That* Anne Thorne *should not be well*; and that at the same time she also *threatned* Anne Street, *saying, That she should be worse.* But this was only *attested* to Mr. *Bragge*, and never *sworn to* before any Magistrate; neither has Mr. *Bragge* given us the least Knowledge of the Character of this *William Burroughs*, that we may be assured he ought to be believed in what he says. So that this whole Story of *Jane Wenham*'s threatning *Anne Thorne*, although a thing of the utmost Importance, depends wholly upon the Evidence of *Anne Thorne* her self, and of *William Burroughs*, i. e. of *No-body*, and of *Some-body, we know not who.*

2. The

2. The next Thing that I would desire the Reader to take Notice of, is, That *Jane Wenham is not so much as pretended ever to have threatned* Anne Thorne, *before she was actually seized with these Fits.* Before her first running for Sticks, as I have proved, and as Mr. *Bragge* seems to grant, she was not once *threatned*; and we may observe the same Thing with relation to *Anne Street*; she was never *threatned* at all before, *P.* 30. And then Mr. *Bragge* himself confesses, *that she had been in the like Condition with* Anne Thorne *for several Days before.* Now to me this seems to be a very plain Proof, that *Jane Wenham* was not at all *conscious* to herself of any Power that she had, of bringing these Disorders upon these Persons; for if she had, it is very likely that she would have been as forward to have threatned them before as she was afterwards. Neither will it help Mr. *Bragge* to say, that she might forbear threatning these Persons before they were seized with these Distempers, on purpose that she might not be suspected; for this Argument bears full as strong against himself as it does against me; it being as good a Proof, that she ought not ever to have threatned them *at all*, as that she should not threaten them *before these Disorders fell upon them.* But it is no great Matter, whether we can from hence prove that *Jane Wenham* was *not* conscious to her self of any Power that she had over these Persons, provided it cannot be proved by this Argument *that she was.* And that it cannot, I think will appear very Evident, if we consider,

3. *The Manner in which* Jane Wenham *expressed her self in these Threatnings.* These, we may observe, are all of them made up of such General Terms, that any one alive might say the same thing, without being in any great Danger of being mistaken. The most that ever she said, was, *That she should be worse; that she should not be well*, and the like. Now these are such comprehensive Words, that they are equally applicable to any Kind of Disorder incident to Human Bodies: And therefore, she can be no more said (by saying these Words)

Words) to have threaten'd *Anne Thorne* with thoſe very Symptoms which ſhe afterwards labour'd under, than ſhe can be ſaid to have threaten'd her with the Stone, Gout, or any other Illneſs; ſince whatſoever Diſorder might fall upon her, it might with equal Propriety of Speech be ſaid, *That ſhe was not well.* Had ſhe threaten'd any *particular* Diſaſter to *Anne Thorne*, where we could have diſtinguiſhed her Meaning, ſuch as being *Blind*, *Lame*, *Deaf*, &c. and it had happen'd; this indeed would have been ſomething. But for a Perſon to ſee another ſick before her Eyes, and then to ſay no more of her, than *that ſhe ſhould not be well yet*; or, *that ſhe ſhould be worſe*; this is ſuch a Piece of *Black Art*, as moſt Old Women think themſelves learn'd in. It is, perhaps, but an even Chance, whether a Perſon that is ſick, ſhall be *well*, *better*, or *worſe*; and therefore whatever *Jane Wenham* had ſaid of *Anne Thorne*, ſhe would have had a very fair Throw to be in the right, eſpecially if ſhe had (as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe ſhe had) any tolerable Knowledge of the Nature of her Diſtemper. The *Threatnings* therefore of *Jane Wenham* to *Anne Thorne*, tho' never ſo true, will do Mr. *Bragge* no Service, in proving *Jane Wenham* to be a *Witch*; becauſe they are not ſuch as are neceſſarily required in this Caſe; *i. e.* They are ſuch as cannot prove, that *Jane Wenham* was conſcious to her ſelf of any Power that ſhe had of Cauſing thoſe Diſorders, which afterwards diſcover'd themſelves in *Anne Thorne*; which is the only thing that can give ſuch *Threatnings* the Force of an Argument.

But all this, it ſeems, is not enough to clear *Jane Wenham*; who (to convince all the World of the Juſtice of that Opinion which they had all along entertain'd of her) now confeſſes that ſhe is a Witch; and that ſhe had a Hand in Bewitching *Anne Thorne*. And of this I am not willing to doubt, it being atteſted by ſo many Credible and Subſtantial Witneſſes. But then, I am here very deſirous to know P. 15, 16.

what ſhe meant by *being a Witch*; and whether it be certain, that ſhe uſed that Word *Witch*, in the ſame Senſe in which Mr. *Bragge* all along underſtands it? Doubtleſs ſhe could not but be ſenſible, that ſhe had for many Years paſt lived in a continual Courſe of Wickedneſs; That ſhe had a very malicious and envious Mind; That ſhe had by this been often moved to wiſh People Harm, and that ſometimes her Wiſhes had been accompliſhed. Poſſibly too ſhe might be ſo weak as to imagine, that ſhe had a real Power of procuring Miſchief to thoſe to whom ſhe wiſhed it. All theſe Things, I ſay, ſhe might think of; and this perhaps might be all the Notion that ſhe had of *Witchcraft*: And if this be true, 'tis eaſy enough to underſtand how ſhe ſhould confeſs her ſelf a Witch, and yet (at the ſame time) neither be, nor think her ſelf to be really ſo. No, you'll ſay; for ſhe con-
P. 21. feſſes ſhe has a Familiar Spirit, and that ſhe was *in Covenant with the Devil.* But what did ſhe mean again, by *having a Familiar Spirit*, or *being in Covenant with the Devil*? Did ſhe explain her ſelf upon theſe Terms? Did ſhe ſay that ſhe had receiv'd any Tokens or Aſſurances from *Satan*, by which ſhe knew that ſhe was able to make uſe of his Aſſiſtance? Poſſibly ſhe might underſtand no more by *having a Familiar Spirit*, or *being in Covenant with the Devil*, than ſhe did by *being a Witch*; *i. e.* that ſhe was a very wicked and malicious Perſon, one who wiſhed ill to her Neighbours, and had been for a long time converſant in thoſe Practices which the Devil delights in, and of which he is ſaid to be the Father: This, I ſay, is what ſhe might call, and properly enough too, *a Familiarity with the Devil.*

It may be ſaid here, perhaps, That *Jane Wenham*'s confeſſing *that this Spirit went about, and appeared to* Anne Thorne *in her Shape*, argues ſomething of Contract or Familiarity with it, in the ſtricteſt Senſe; and ſo indeed it would, did it appear that ſhe had any Know-

Knowledge of this immediately from the Spirit it ſelf. But to me this is not ſo evident: For *Jane Wenham* never ſpoke of any *Familiar* at all that ſhe had, before it had been given in upon Oath, that *ſhe was ſeen in the Town, and that ſhe had threaten'd* Anne Thorne, at a time when ſhe knew very well ſhe was at another place. Now this might very well put the Woman to a ſtand. For, becauſe ſhe could not well disbelieve what had been ſworn to, nor yet underſtand how it was poſſible ſhe ſhould threaten *Anne Thorne*, when at the ſame time ſhe knew ſhe had not ſo much as ſeen her; this, I ſay, might put her to a ſtand, and make her ſay (becauſe ſhe had no other way to ſolve the Difficulty) *that it was the Devil in her Shape.* And I dare ſay, that if any one ſhould come and ſwear, that he ſaw Mr. *Bragge* at ſuch a Time, and in ſuch a Place, (when he knew that he was elſewhere) he would be very apt to make the ſame Anſwer, and cry, *It was the Devil, and not I.*

So that notwithſtanding it be true, that *Jane Wenham* did literally confeſs her ſelf to be a Witch; it is not ſo very plain, that ſhe did own her ſelf to be what Mr. *Bragge* meant by being ſo. But I ſhall not inſiſt upon this Argument; but ſuppoſe, if you pleaſe, that her Confeſſion was as full and as proper as you can deſire: For even upon this Suppoſition, there will be Two Things, which will very much ſhake the Credit and Authority of this Confeſſion.

The Firſt is, The Circumſtances which *Jane Wenham* was in, at the time of her Confeſſion, which were ſuch as I think were very likely to occaſion her to ſpeak things, tho' to her own Prejudice; which, at the ſame time, might not be really true. Mr. *Bragge* tells us, Par. 2. p. 37. *That her Confeſſion was free and unreſtrained, no Force having been uſed to bring her to it.* Now although I look upon this to be very true in the Senſe wherein he ſpeaks, yet I very much queſtion whether it were abſolutely, and in all reſpects, ſo free and unreſtrained,

as could have been desired. I am very well satisfy'd, that Mr. *Gardiner* and Mr. *Strutt*, are both of them Men of too much Integrity, to attempt by any outward violence to make her confess any thing she was not really guilty of; but then I think, that the inward State and Condition of her own Mind at that time might lay a far greater force upon her than any outward violence whatsoever. The fear and surprize which she was then in were doubtless very considerable; for the whole Neighbourhood was now in an uproar against her, she was haled to a Magistrate in order to be sent to Prison, and for any thing she knew to the contrary to the Gallows. All this, I say, and many other frightful Circumstances besides, which People generally fall under upon such Occasions, might so far unsettle and distract her Mind, as to make her hardly her self, and prompt her to say she knew not what. Besides, Mr. *Strutt* had but just before been telling her, that *If she were guilty of any such thing, it would be the best thing she could do to confess it*, and in this he discharged himself as a faithful Guide; for so it certainly would be, as he added, *for the Salvation of her Soul, and the Good of others.* Now it is not very unlikely but that *Jane Wenham*, through Mistake, and want of Attention, might misapprehend him, and imagine his meaning might be, that her Confession would be an Argument with Sir *Henry Chauncy* to deal more favourably with her, perhaps to let her have her Liberty again, or at least to defer sending her to Gaol for some time. The latter of these is, I am well assured, more than a bare Supposition; for Mr. *Strutt* told me himself not long ago, that when he was endeavouring to bring *Jane Wenham* to a Confession, he did tell her, that he would prevail upon Sir *Henry Chauncy*, if he could, to defer putting the Mittimus in execution; now it is possible, I say, that she might upon these, and some such like Expectations be brought to confess what perhaps she was not guilty of. It is very certain that many Persons have

P. 15.

been

been brought to confeſs by ſuch Methods as theſe: and however innocent ſhe might be, yet ſuch were Peoples Prejudices againſt her, that ſhe could not but foreſee what a terrible Storm was drawing towards her, and that ſhe muſt ſuffer what perhaps ſhe thought as bad as Hanging before ſhe could be releaſed, and therefore might rather chuſe to get off this way than by a Legal and Formal Tryal.

But if theſe Anſwers do not ſeem ſufficient, there is yet a Second Suppoſition, which may perhaps a little help us in the preſent Caſe, and that is, that *Jane Wenham*'s Diſcontents under her Condition in this Life, might make her willing to lay hold of this Opportunity of getting out of the World. I have heard Inſtances of ſome who have done ſo in this very Caſe, and I know not, but *Jane Wenham*'s Circumſtances might be ſuch, as might with her be a ſufficient Motive to make uſe of the ſame Methods. Methinks a poor Woman, that has lived for Sixteen Years under the Character of a Witch, and by this means was become ſo odious to all her Neighbours, as to be deny'd in all probability, the common Neceſſaries of Life. ſhould have enough upon her to make her ſick of the World, and deſirous of being removed out of the reach of theſe Misfortunes; for my own part I ſhould rather chuſe to ſubmit to a Thouſand Deaths, than to bear all thoſe Hardſhips which are the conſtant and neceſſary Attendants of ſuch a Character. This Objection Mr. *Bragge* has taken notice of and allowed it to have its weight in ſome Caſes; and I am ſtill of opinion that it may have its weight in this, notwithſtanding any thing he has ſaid to the contrary. There being *ſtrong Preſumptions* here that this Charge was true, is nothing at all to Mr. *Bragge*'s purpoſe, but makes the Argument ſtill ſtronger on my ſide. For the more firmly her Neighbours believed her to be a Witch, without doubt the worſe they would uſe her, and conſequently ſhe muſt be ſo much the more willing to be releaſed from her

Par. 2. *P.* 37.

her Misfortunes. I grant indeed, that a *Magiſtrate* who ſits as a Judge upon ſuch Matters, and who is to act according to the Evidence that he has of things, has greater reaſon to take the Confeſſion of a Perſon when he has *ſtrong Preſumptions* againſt him than when he has none; and ſo has any one elſe too who only conſiders the matter in a private Capacity. And therefore I do not deny, but theſe *Preſumptions* in this Caſe of *Jane Wenham* (if they be ſo ſtrong as Mr. *Bragge* pretends) do amount to a collateral Evidence, and make the thing more probable. But ſtill I think all this does not come up to a plain proof; for it muſt be granted, that there are oftentimes ſtrong Preſumptions where there is no real Guilt; and in ſuch a Caſe I do not ſee why the innocent Perſon may not have much greater reaſon to make a Confeſſion, upon the Motives whereof we are now ſpeaking, that if the Suſpicions againſt him were of leſs Weight and Importance. What reaſon I would fain know, could *Jane Wenham* have to confeſs her ſelf a Witch; if the Preſumptions againſt her were not ſo ſtrong as to make the World believe her to be ſo?

We are now come to another Circumſtance mentioned by Mr. *Bragge*, and which perhaps may be thought an Argument of *Jane Wenham*'s being a Witch, and that is, *The great Difficulty of fetching Blood from her.* Of this we have Two Inſtances ſet down in this Narrative. The Firſt is at *P.* 10. where we are told, that *Anne Thorne ſcratched* Jane Wenham *upon the Forehead with ſuch Eagerneſs and Fury, that the Noiſe of her Nails ſeemed to all that were preſent, as if ſhe were ſcratching againſt a Wainſcot, and yet no Blood followed, although at the ſame time her Forehead was ſadly torn and mangled by the Girl's Nails.* But this Inſtance, as ſtrange as it is, will upon due Examination I believe be found to have nothing at all in it but what is both *Natural* and *Common.* For after all theſe Lofty and Aggravating Expreſſions, wherewith Mr. *Bragge* has

has dreſſed up this Story, it may very reaſonably be queſtion'd whether *Anne Thorne* did any thing more by ſcratching *Jane Wenham* than barely raiſe up the *Cuticula* or *Scarf-skin*: and if this were all, it would not be in the leaſt wonderful to me, that *Jane Wenham* ſhould not bleed upon being thus *Scratched*. Nothing is more common than this; I my ſelf have ſeen many, who, I will anſwer for them, were neither *Witches* nor *Wizzards*, ſcratched after ſuch a manner, as perhaps Mr. *Bragge* wou'd call being *ſadly torn and mangled*, without ſo much as one Drop of Blood following thereupon. The Reaſon of which I conceive to be this, that the Blood Veſſels of that Part being ſo exceedingly fine and ſlender, it is poſſible they may be very much broken, and yet the Blood not iſſue forth in ſuch a Quantity, as to be taken notice of. This Reaſon will carry ſtill greater Force with it, if the Perſon ſcratched be ſuppoſed to be one that is old, weak, ſickly, or under any Sort of Habit or Conſtitution of Body as is naturally attended with a Scarcity of Blood, and with a Weakneſs and Languidneſs of the Circulatory Motion. For in this Caſe, the whole Maſs of Blood will be contained within the larger Veſſels, and the extreme Capiliaries will be defrauded of that Share or Proportion which is natural to them; and conſequently it muſt then be with greater Difficulties, that the Blood can be fetched out, upon ſcratching, or raiſing up the External Teguments of the Body. That this is the very Caſe of *Jane Wenham*, is too plain not to be taken notice of; and therefore it is, I think, no hard Matter upon this Reaſoning, to ſee how it comes too paſs, that *Jane Wenham* ſhould be ſcratched without bleeding thereupon. I ſhall conclude this Story with acquainting the Reader with ſomething which I heard from Mr. *Archer* of *Sandon*, a Perſon whoſe Credit Mr. *Bragge* often appeals to, *viz.* That he once or twice ſaw her after they had been ſcratching her, and that her Face and Linnen were all of a *gore Blood*.

Is

Is not this then a ſhrewd Sign, that the Devil is not ſo very choice of *Jane Wenham*'s Blood, but that it may be ſpent upon Occaſion; and that if it ever happened that ſhe did not bleed upon being ſcratched, it was only becauſe ſhe was not ſcratched *enough* for that Purpoſe?

But we are told, *P.* 19. That Mr. *Chauncy ran a Pin into her Arm* a great many times, and once *up to the Head, leaving it in her Arm, that all the Company might ſee it.* But this Account does by no means ſhow, that *Jane Wenham* did not bleed as much as other Folks are wont to do upon the like Occaſions. We are not aſſured that the Pin was run in deep enough to make her bleed, but once, and that is when it was run up to the Head; and here we are told, that after the Pin was pulled out, *there juſt appeared a little watery Serum.* That *little* then perhaps may be enough to ſerve our turn; for I hope neither Mr. *Chauncey*, nor Mr. *Bragge*, could expect that *Jane Wenham* ſhould have bled at the ſame rate, upon being pricked with a Pin, that ſhe would have done upon being ſtuck with a Penknife or Lancet. But this it ſeems was not what *might be called Blood*; but for what Reaſon it might not, I cannot imagine. All we are told to ſhow that is, that it was *thin* and *watery*, *i. e.* I ſuppoſe it was not altogether ſo thick as Cream, or haſty Pudding. Mr. *Chauncy*, it is like, expected that *Jane Wenham*'s Blood ſhou'd have been as rich and as florid as that of *Anne Thorne*'s, or of any other Virgin of about 16. He makes no Difference, I ſee, between the Beef and Mutton Regimen, and that of Turnips and Water-gruel. If this be a good Teſt of *Witchcraft*, we may hang up (as far as I know) all the poor old Women in the Kingdom; for if they were all to be pricked at this rate, we might chance to find their Blood of the ſame Colour, and Conſiſtency.

But admitting now, that *Jane Wenham* did not Bleed as much as is uſual upon theſe Occaſions, or even not at all, there is one Conſideration which I think will afford

ford a ſufficient Anſwer to any Argument that can poſſibly be drawn from this Topick; and that is, the *Dread* and *Conſternation* that the poor Wretch was in upon theſe Occaſions. But juſt before ſhe was ſcratched, the Conſtables had been breaking open her Doors upon her; and having ſeized her, dragged her by main Force (as may reaſonably be ſuppoſed) to Mr. *Gardiner*'s Houſe. In the other Inſtance Mr. *Chauncy* ſnatches a Pin out of her Hand, flies at her, and runs it ſix or ſeven Times into her Arm. Such Uſage as this was enough to frighten a poor Old Woman out of her Wits, and to congeal and ſtagnate thoſe naturally cold and ſluggiſh Humours which ſhe had within her. *Fear*, by a natural Law within our ſelves, which we can ſooner experience than explain, weakens and unbends the *Animal Powers*. The Heart languiſhes; the Fibres loſe their proper Tone and Elaſticity; and the Blood, through want of a ſufficient Force to drive it forward, grows languid and ſlow in its circulatory Motion. Hence it is that (as Phyſicians inform us) the moſt violent *Hemorrhages* are oft-times ſtopped by a ſudden and vehement Fright; becauſe the Moment or Force by which the Blood preſſes againſt the Sides of the Veſſels, being by this means diminiſhed, the Lips of the broken Orifice are eaſily cemented again to one another. And if this may be effected in the larger Branches of the Veſſels where the Stream of the Blood is more rapid and impetuous, how much rather in the extream Capillaries, where the Force of the Blood is naturally very ſmall; and may therefore very eaſily be loſt upon the leaſt decay or failure in the Bloods Motion.

But the Story of *Jane Wenham*'s not being able to ſay *the Lord's Prayer*, is what ſurprizes me moſt; not that *Jane Wenham* could not repeat it, but that any one ſhould be ſo very whimſical, as to bring it as an Argument for the Proof of this *Witchcraft*. Strange and wonderful indeed, that a poor *P.* 10, 12.

wicked old Wretch, that has not ſaid her Prayers theſe 20 Years, and perhaps was never able to ſay them in her whole Life, ſhould blunder for the three or four firſt Times ſhe was called to it! And not only ſo, but when ſhe was under ſuch Circumſtances too as had been enough to have confounded her, had ſhe been able to have ſaid them never ſo perfectly. For my own Part, I will not pretend to ſay I could have ſaid them better, if I knew my Life were at ſtake, and depended upon that Teſt. Mr. *Bragge* may call me Wizzard for this if he thinks fit; but I will venture to affirm further, that ſome, even of thoſe *Wiſe Heads* who gave Verdict againſt her, would have been as much puzzled as ſhe, had they been called to do it in open Court; nay, I know not whether Mr. *Bragge* himſelf would have come off better. But how good an Argument ſoever this may have been in its time, it is now quite done, and good for nothing; for Uſe and Experience has, it ſeems, rubbed up her Memory; and, as I am credibly informed by thoſe who have been with her, ſhe is now, and has been for ſome time, as able to ſay the Lord's Prayer as Mr. *Bragge*, or any one elſe.

I have by this time gone through, I think, every Thing that is material in the Hiſtory of *Anne Thorne*: As for that of *Anne Street*, I ſhall not trouble my ſelf about it, it being by far leſs conſiderable, and conſequently anſwered with far leſs difficulty. It is by no means ſtrange to me, that *Anne Thorne* having acted her Part with ſo much ſucceſs, others ſhould by degrees be drawn into the Plot; or that the Rumor of her being bewitched having made ſuch a Diſturbance in the Neighbourhood, others ſhould begin to fancy themſelves in the ſame ill handling. I ſhall therefore now only crave the Reader's Patience, whilſt I Anſwer an Objection or two, which, I foreſee, may be raiſed againſt theſe Remarks in general.

1. It

1. It may be urged, that I have here ſuppoſed *Anne Thorne* to labour under ſome *natural* Diſtemper, in oppoſition to the Opinion of all thoſe who were about her, and declared their Belief of the Contrary. This Objection, I muſt own, lies full againſt me; I did ſay her Diſtemper was ſomething Natural, and am ſtill of that Opinion; and if I am miſtaken, I muſt thank Mr. *Bragge* for it. I have no other Knowledge of *Anne Thorne*'s Illneſs, than what Mr. *Bragge* has been pleaſed to give me; and if I have not conſider'd ſuch things as I have no Knowledge of, I am not to be blamed: But I will venture to affirm, that there is not ſo much as *one Symptom* in his whole Book, which may not be Natural; and if not directly *Hyſterical*, yet ſomething very nearly related to it. What are *Convulſions of the Body, Paleneſs of the Face, Lowneſs and Deadneſs of Pulſe, a diſorderly and irregular Imagination*, &c. but Symptoms common enough in theſe Caſes? And as to thoſe of *running* and *leaping* at thoſe unuſual rates, if they are not of that Tribe, I hope I have at leaſt ſhown them to be ſuch as may fairly be reſolved into Natural Cauſes. Mr. *Bragge* tells us indeed, *that a very ingenious Gentleman, and able Phyſician, ſaw her in one of her Fits, which too was the leaſt that ever ſhe had; and gave his Opinion of it as a Phyſician, that it was no natural Diſtemper.* But this Declaration of his, does not with me avail any thing at all. For I would very fain know what the Doctor could mean, by ſaying *that it was no Natural Diſtemper.* Did he mean *that it was ſuch a Diſtemper as he had never obſerved before, or never had been obſerved by any one beſides in ordinary Practice?* Or did he mean *that it was ſuch a Diſtemper as was abſolutely beyond the Power of Natural Cauſes to produce?* If this latter were his meaning (as it muſt be, to do Mr. *Bragge* any ſervice) I ſhould deſire no ſtronger Proof to ſhow that his Judgment is not to be depended on. For I do here challenge and defy the beſt Phyſician upon Earth,

Diſcovery, p. 31.

provided he conſiders of what he ſays, to affirm any ſuch Thing of any Diſtemper. It is a *Negative Propoſition*, and what therefore can never be plainly proved, unleſs its *Poſitive* can be brought to a flat Contradiction: And if the Doctor can do this, I will freely give up the whole Cauſe, and comply with every thing Mr. *Bragge* would have me. But this, I dare believe, is what he will not pretend to; if he does, he pretends to more than ever any one pretended to yet, or can reaſonably pretend to, upon that ſhort and imperfect Knowledge we have of our own ſelves. Shall we, who know not ſo much as by what Force or Power the *Heart* and *Pulſe* beat, who underſtand not by what means the moſt regular and ſimple Operations are produced in us; pretend to fathom the more *abſtruſe* and *hidden* Myſteries of Nature, and to define the utmoſt Extent of her Power in all her moſt *ſecret* and *complicated* Motions? This would be full as extravagant an Attempt, as to pretend to ſet Bounds to the Sea, by ſaying, *Hither ſhalt thou go, and no further*: It ſuppoſes ſuch a compleat and perfect Knowledge of the *Oeconomy* of our Bodies, as no Man ever yet had, or ever can have, and which alone belongs to that Infinitely Wiſe Being, by whoſe Underſtanding we were framed, and who is the Spring and Fountain of all Life and Motion in us. Every Diſtemper incident to Humane Body, is a Myſtery far beyond the reach of our weak Reaſoning to comprehend; they all depend upon Cauſes wholly unknown to us; and therefore unleſs Experience had been our Guide and Inſtructor, we could no more have ſaid of the moſt common and ordinary Diſeaſe, that it *could*, or *could not* be, than we could have pretended to have fixed Bounds to infinite Wiſdom and infinite Power.

This, I make no queſtion, but the Doctor is very ſenſible of; and therefore I am very inclinable to believe, that he meant no more by ſaying *Anne Thorne*'s

Diſtem-

Diſtemper was not Natural; than *That it was ſuch a Diſtemper as he had not before obſerved in his ordinary Practice.* But then I think Mr. *Bragge* is very much out in his Way of Reaſoning; *viz.* in making uſe of this Declaration of the Doctor's, in favour of his pretended Witchcraft. For does it follow, that becauſe this Diſtemper is *new* and *uncommon*, that therefore it muſt be ſomething *above the Power of Natural Cauſes?* Is *Nature* always ty'd down to the ſame uniform way of acting; and is it not poſſible to make any Variations in the Uſe and Exerciſe of her ſeveral Faculties? He who can agree to all this, muſt know but little of himſelf, or of any thing beſides; the contrary of this being ſo true, that there is hardly any two Subjects upon which the ſame Diſtemper will ſhow it ſelf exactly alike in all its Circumſtances. And indeed, it is wonderful to me, that conſidering the Differences of *Age*, *Sex*, *Conſtitution*, and many other Cauſes beſides, which concur to the Production of *Diſeaſes* in us, that *Nature* ſhould not be far more inconſtant and irregular in her *Operations*, and that every Day ſhould not diſcover ſome new and uncommon Diſaſter. Every *Diſeaſe* has had its Beginning; and there was a time, when thoſe which every Old Woman now thinks her ſelf skill'd in, were as wonderful (perhaps) as any one Part of *Anne Thorne*'s Illneſs. And if the Brains of former Ages had been caſt in the ſame Mould with Mr. *Bragge*'s, I tremble to think what a Rout there would have been, and how many Hiſtories and Trials of Witches would daily have been publiſh'd.

The next Objection which (it is likely) may be urged againſt me, is, *That I have in theſe Papers charged* Anne Thorne *with ſome Deſign of Cheat and Impoſture*; which, perhaps, may not ſeem ſo conſiſtent with the *Character* Mr. *Bragge* has given of her, with her *Simplicity*, and *ſmall Knowledge* of the World, nor with any *Motives* upon which ſhe can be thought to have had any

any ſuch Deſign; there being no viſible *Pleaſure* or *Profit*, which might induce her to it. In Anſwer to which, I beg leave to obſerve,

1. That as to her *Character*, whatever it might have been formerly, it will now be of little Service to her, in ſecuring her from the Imputation of any Ill Deſigns, which may be charged upon her. Mrs. *Gardiner*, who at that time ſeem'd ſo fully perſuaded of her Innocency, and who all along ſpoke ſo favourably of her, has by this time ſo much Reaſon to alter her Opinion, that I dare believe, ſhe will not now ſay any thing in her Defence. Her *Fidelity*, which is the only Virtue which is able to ſupport and give Credit to the greateſt Part of theſe Relations, is now entirely loſt, and ſhe is at laſt found to be ſo *arrant a Lyar*, that there is no manner of heed to be given to any thing that ſhe ſays. I do not by this mean, that ſhe is a *known* and *common Lyar*; that, I muſt confeſs, is more than I can affirm: But thus much I can ſay, and that upon the Credit of one whom I can rely upon, and who heard it from Mrs. *Gardiner*'s own Mouth; That ſhe has (ſince theſe Accidents have happen'd) caught her in ſo many groſs and palpable Lies, that ſhe has now entirely laid aſide that good Opinion that ſhe once entertained of her. This is enough with me to blaſt her whole *Character*, and to invalidate the Credibility of every thing that depends upon her Teſtimony. For altho' it does not neceſſarily follow, that a Perſon has always been a Lyar, becauſe he is now one; yet it has *been* a Piece of Juſtice always paid to ſuch ſort of People, *never to be believed*. And I think, how unjuſt ſoever it may be thought, barely from *their* affirming a thing, to conclude it to be *falſe*, we have yet all the Reaſon in the World to be excuſed, if we cannot upon their ſole Authority conclude it to be true.

2. As

2. As to her *Knowledge*, and *Experience in the World*, there is little to be ſaid about it on either ſide. If I have too high a Notion of them, Mr. *Bragge* may (on the other hand) have one as much too low. The Policy of ſuch Girls as *theſe*, is not always open to every one's View: They have ſometimes Deſigns too deep to be preſently diſcover'd; and are able to manage ſuch dark Intrigues, as one would hardly ſuſpect in them. But as to this in particular, I do not ſee ſuch mighty Difficulties in it; but that *a firm Reſolution*, join'd with *a moderate Share of Cunning*, might be able to carry her thro' it: And if what ſhe had was any ways deficient, we know there is one abroad in the World, who is forward enough to encourage People in ill Deſigns, and who could ſpare her ſome of his Policy, to make up thoſe Defects in her own.

3. As to the *Ends* that ſhe might propoſe to her ſelf in ſuch Attempts as theſe, whatever they are, we may be ſure ſhe would conceal them as much as poſſible. It is *a main Part* an *Impoſtor* has to play, to be private in theſe; and we daily ſee in other Caſes, that Deſigns are carried on with the beſt Succeſs, by thoſe who ſeem to have none. I cannot pretend to ſay, what *Pleaſure* or *Profit* ſhe could expect from an *Impoſture* of this Kind; but I do not think we have Reaſon enough to conclude from thence, that ſhe expected none. Such Perſons as thoſe do not always act upon Rational Motives; and if they did, they may poſſibly have ſome Deſigns, which no body is able to fathom but themſelves. In ſhort, it is the moſt uncertain way in the World, to argue from People's Deſigns; becauſe the Ends which Men propoſe to themſelves, are ſo infinitely various and uncertain. And therefore it is not a Rational Inference, to ſay of any one, *That he did not do this or that*, becauſe we can ſee no Reaſon *why* he ſhould do it.

Our

Hiſt. Reign of K. James I. A. D. 1617.

Our *Engliſh* Hiſtory has furniſhed us with a very Remarkable Inſtance, what wonderful Impoſtures may ſometimes be carried on, by the moſt unexperienc'd and (ſeemingly) the moſt undeſigning People. I mean the Story of the Boy of *Bilſon*; who, by thoſe ſtrange and uncommon Diſorders which were obſerv'd upon him, was generally thought to have been poſſeſs'd by ſome Evil Spirit. He was, in all Probability, as little ſuſpected to have had any Deſign as *Anne Thorne*; and yet it plainly appear'd in the End, that he was a moſt wicked and impudent Cheat, ſet on and encourag'd by ſome crafty Jeſuits, in order to ſupport the Power and Authority of the *Romiſh* Prieſthood.

And if Mr. *Bragge* could have had the Patience to have waited a while, Time (perhaps) would have brought to Light even theſe hidden Myſteries. It is, I think, now evident beyond Diſpute, that *Anne Thorne* is not ſo *ſilly* and *undeſigning* a Girl, as he would make us believe. If ſhe has got nothing elſe by playing theſe Pranks, ſhe has got what ſhe calls *a good Husband*; but it is poſſible it may hereafter appear, that ſhe got *ſomething more*. I cannot ſay this was what ſhe expected; but it fell out ſo very luckily, that methinks it would be ſome Excuſe, if one ſhould ſuppoſe ſomething of this Nature to have been intended. There was a certain *Cunning Fellow* apply'd to in this Caſe, under the Name of a *White Witch*; who, by his Preſcriptions, has given us pretty broad Hints, what he took this Wench's Caſe to be. She was, it ſeems, to waſh her Hands and Face twice a Day, with a particular Kind of Water which he ſent her. What the preſent Effects of it would be, the *Doctor* did not ſay; but (it ſeems) they were of ſo odd a Nature, that ſhe was neither to be truſted alone, nor with much Company. One *brisk Fellow* only was permitted to attend her in a private Room, for one, two, or three Hours, according as there ſhould be

be occaſion. This Method if carefully obſerv'd, the Doctor affirmed *upon the Word of a Phyſician*, would in a very ſhort time procure her a *Husband*. The Girls Spirits were ſo much elevated at the Thoughts of this, that as Mr. *Bragge* has very well obſerv'd, *She was not afterwards very eaſily frightned, but whenever ſhe had a lucid Interval from her Pains, was obſerved to be very chearful and pleaſant, and pleaſed her ſelf with the hopes that e'er long ſhe ſhould be well.* P. 32. Whether or no the Doctor's Rules were carefully obſerved I ſhall leave the Reader to gueſs; it is certain, that beſides the Solicitations of Nature ſhe had a careful Mother almoſt continually at her Elbow, who would be ever and anon crying *Nan, have you waſhed your Face and Hands to Day?* And it is certain, that ſhe has reaped all the Benefit that could have been hoped for from the moſt ſtrict and regular uſe of this Medicine. The Man who attended her by the Doctor's Order is now become her Husband, which had ſo good an effect upon her, that notwithſtanding all her former illneſs, ſhe was able within a Day or Two to follow her Bridegroom into *Wales*, (as ſome ſay) or ſome other place a great way of, it is not well known where.

The ſame good Fate has likewiſe attended *Anne Street*; (whether ſhe borrowed a little of *Anne Thorne's Water* to waſh her Face and Hands with, I do not hear, but) ſhe is alſo Married, much to the eaſe both of Body and Mind. The evil Spirit has it ſeems now forſaken her, and given her up wholly to the poſſeſſion of her new Maſter. How it fares with *Anne Thorne* I have not yet been inform'd, but I ſuppoſe ſhe is much in the ſame condition that other young Wenches are generally in, about a Month or two after *Matrimony*.

And now, I hope, I have ſufficiently diſcharged my ſelf in the Examination of Mr. *Bragge's* Narrative. It is I think very evident from what has been ſaid. 1*ſt*. That there are a great many of the Facts themſelves which are not

clearly proved. 2*dly*, That ſuppoſing they were all true and certain in themſelves, there is yet no ſufficient proof, that they were effected by preternatural Cauſes. 3*dly*, That ſuppoſing they were effected by preternatural Cauſes, there is yet no ſufficient Foundation in them to ſupport this Charge of Witchcraft againſt *Jane Wenham*. From whence it follows, that the whole Story is either groundleſs, falſe, or frivolous, or elſe, that Mr. *Bragge* has given us but a very lame and imperfect Relation of it. And therefore I hope, that after all thoſe large Pretenſions of his, to *Fairneſs* and *Impartiality*, he will acknowledge that it now lies upon him, either to give up that Cauſe, which he has been all long defending with ſo much *Zeal* and *Aſſurance*, or elſe to begin again and endeavour to juſtify himſelf by a more compleat and perfect Narrative. It is very likely, that Mr. *Bragge* may not be ſo forward to acknowledge any neglect in himſelf, as to charge theſe Deficiencies upon the Matters themſelves, which perhaps he will tell us are not capable of being more clearly handled. If this ſhould chance to be his Notion, I know already what Anſwer I am likely to have, *viz.* That I am one of thoſe unreaſonable Men, *who require an Evidence greater than the thing in diſpute will admit of.* But for this I will apeal to all the World. I leave any one to judge, who has conſider'd the whole Argument on both ſides, whether the Proofs which Mr. *Bragge* has given us do come up to this Standard; *i. e.* whether or no we have all that Evidence that could poſſibly be given, ſuppoſing the things now in Debate were certainly true; I will leave this, I ſay, to any ones Judgment, not becauſe I have no Arguments to prove the contrary, but becauſe I think it needs none; however, if Mr. *Bragge* ſhould be ſo unreaſonable, as to put me upon the Proof of this, I think my ſelf able to give him a *Demonſtration* of it in every Story throughout the whole Narrative.

See his Pref.

But

But I do not ſee how it will help Mr. *Bragge*, if as he pretends, he has given us all the Proofs for his Witchcraft, that the Nature of the thing will admit of. It would indeed then be very unreaſonable in any Man to expect that he ſhould give more; but then it would be full as unreaſonable in him to expect, that any one ſhould believe it barely for that Reaſon. For wherever the Thing in Queſtion does not admit of Evidence to weigh with a reaſonable Man, there the Nature of the Thing is ſuch, that (be it never ſo true) it cannot be the Object of a wiſe Man's Faith. For our belief of any thing does not depend upon the intrinſick Certainty and Reality of the Thing it ſelf, but upon the Evidence it carries with it, with relation to us who are to be the Judges of it. And therefore ſince it is certain a thing may be true, and yet not capable of being proved to be ſo, it will be to little purpoſe to ſay, that we have all the Evidence that the thing will bear, if all be not enough.

I would not however be ſo underſtood, as if I affirm'd that the *Devil* has not any way been concerned in bringing theſe *Diſorders* upon *Anne Thorne*, Should I aſſert this, I ſhould think my ſelf full as unreaſonable on this ſide as Mr. *Bragge* has been on the other? It was a current Opinion amongſt the *Ancients*, that *moſt*, if not *all* Diſeaſes were occaſioned by *Evil Spirits* acting upon Human Bodies; and I muſt own, that I do not ſee any ſuch Abſurdity in this Notion, as to venture, poſitively to affirm the contrary. But this (although true) would be nothing at all to our purpoſe; for the Queſtion is, not *whether or no this Diſtemper of* Anne Thorn's *was occaſioned by the power of the Devil*, but *whether or no it appears to have been ſo, upon thoſe Proofs which Mr.* Bragge *has given us.* This, I ſay, is the thing to be conſider'd; and this is all that I pretend to deny. I ſay the ſame thing with relation to *Jane Wenham*'s being employed by the *Devil* as his Inſtrument in all this Miſchief. I

do not deny but that she may possibly be a *Witch*, and that she may possibly have bewitched *Anne Thorne*; and if Mr. *Bragge*, or any one else can give me good proof of that, I will believe it. But I do not think my self under any manner of obligation to do so, upon those Arguments which have hitherto been urged to this purpose

I am therefore willing to hope, that these *Papers* may in some measure justify Mr. Justice *Powell* in that dissatisfaction he discovered at the *Verdict* that was brought in against this unhappy Woman, and that Mr. *Bragge* will ask pardon of that Worthy and Eminent Man, for that Charge of *Incredulity* which he has with so little Modesty laid upon him. The Reader cannot but observe, with how little deference he speaks of him, whensoever he has occasion to mention his Name; and how angry he is that he was not as forward to believe all those *Idle Stories* concerning this pretended Witchcraft, as he himself, or the rest of those who related them; and I doubt not but he will be able from hence to form a true Notion of the *Character* of the Man, when one of so considerable a Station, and of so great Worth, could not escape his *insolent Reflections*.

See Intr. ad Par. 2.

But I do not wonder at his rude treatment of Mr. Justice *Powell*, when he has not spared even the Holy *Oracles* themselves. Observe with what an Air he magnifies and extolls the Power of his supposed Sorceress. *When*, says he, *we saw a poor Cripple not only* arise and walk *but* run with a prodigious swiftness, *when we heard her complain grievously and with tears, of the excessive Torments she was under upon the threatnings of a wicked Neighbour, &c. we thought it high time to bestir our selves.* I could hardly have thought, had I not seen it with my Eyes, that any one who pretends to Religion, should be able to write at such a rate as this. Had he no more than barely said,

See his Pref.

that

that *Anne Thorne* was recovered *perfectly* from her Lameneſs by the *Witchcraft* of this Woman, this tho' falſe would yet have been ſomething pardonable. But not only to aſſert *this* and *more*, but alſo to aſſert it in *Scripture*-Terms, and thereby to draw his *Lying Wonders* into a Parallel with, nay, to give them the Preference to, the *Miracles* of *our Bleſſed Lord himſelf*; This is ſuch an inſolent Piece of *Profaneneſs*, as he deſerves to be chaſtiſed for, rather with a *Rod*, than with *Reaſoning*.

I cannot conclude theſe Papers, without adding a Word or two in behalf of thoſe two Gentlemen of the *Clergy*, who came in as Evidences againſt this *Jane Wenham*. It has been pretended by a late *Author*, who wrote againſt this *Witchcraft*, as if they were a couple of crafty and deſigning Men, who were willing to impoſe upon the World, and make a ſhow of Wonders, to ſupport and magnify the Dignity of their *Profeſſion*. I am confident that this Charge has done them no diſcredit amongſt thoſe who know them; but I cannot ſay how ready ſome may have been from hence, to entertain an ill Opinion of them; and therefore I take this Opportunity of endeavouring to clear them from ſo foul an Aſperſion, and of letting the World know that they are quite another Sort of Men. If the Reader will truſt my *Integrity*, he cannot reaſonably queſtion my *Authority*; for I am perſonally acquainted with them both, and know them to be Perſons who make a *Conſcience* of atteſting ſuch Things as they know to be falſe, much more of attempting to take away the Life of any whom they think do not juſtly deſerve it. How far indeed they themſelves have been impoſed upon, I do not ſay; poſſibly they may have been ſomewhat too forward in giving their Aſſent to the Truth of ſome Stories, and too haſty in the *Concluſions* which they have drawn from them. But even in this I think they may be excuſed; for the *Occurrences* were ſo ſeemingly

ſtrange,

ſtrange, and they ſo nearly concerned in them, that I know not whether Wiſer Men than they, had they been in their Places, would have diſcharged themſelves better. It is one Thing to conſider of theſe Matters *calmly* and *at a diſtance*, and another to have them *before our Eyes*, and to think of them in the midſt of that hurry and ſurprize, which are the neceſſary Attendants of Things of that Nature; and therefore I hope the World will not refuſe to give them the ſame favourable Allowances which are in Juſtice due to all Mankind.

And now having ſaid all that I think to be neceſſary, it is time to diſmiſs my Reader, and to thank him for the Patience he has allowed me. It is very likely that Mr. *Bragge*'s unſatiable Itch after Scribling, joyned with ſome other Proſpect, may put him upon giving a Reply. If thoſe * *important Subjects* which he ſays he is now *engaged in by Duty and Inclination*, ſhould permit him to divert his Pen once more this way, he will either give a ſolid Anſwer to what I have offered, or he will not. If the former, I ſhall have nothing more to ſay; for as I profeſſed at my Entrance upon this Subject, *that I was ready to give up freely, upon juſt and reaſonable Grounds of Conviction*; ſo I declare my ſelf now to be of the ſame Mind; and that I am neither ſo much at Leiſure, nor ſo great a Stranger to *Modeſty* and *Good Breeding*, as to hold up a Diſpute merely for its own ſake. But if the Latter, I ſhall then have leſs Reaſon to trouble my Head any farther with him, ſince theſe Papers will then loſe nothing of their Force, and will therefore be able at any time to ſpeak for themſelves.

* See *Introd.* to the 2d Part, §. 1.

FINIS.

BOOKS lately Printed for J. Pemberton, *at the* Golden-Buck *in* Fleetſtreet.

I. MEmoirs *Britiſh* and *Foreign*, of the Lives and Families of the moſt Illuſtrious Perſons who died in the Year 1711; more particularly the Emperor, the Dauphin, the Prince of *Frieſland*; The Dukes of *Rutland*, *Newcaſtle*, *Bedford* and *Dover*; The Mareſchal *de Boufflers*; the Marquis *de Leganez*; the Earls of *Bollingbrook*, *Rocheſter*, *Jerſey* and *Bath*; The Lord *Craven*; the Lord *Willoughby* of *Brook*, Bp. *Kenn*, Monſieur *Boileau*, *Ant. Henley* Eſq; Mr. *Dodwell*, &c. To be continued Annually, 8°. Price 6 Shillings.

II. The Hiſtory of the *Pontificate*, from its ſuppoſed Beginning, to the End of the Council of *Trent*, A.D. 1563. In which the Corruptions of the Scriptures and Sacred Antiquity, Forgeries in the Councils, and Encroachments of the Court of *Rome* on the Church and State, to ſupport their Infallibility, Supremacy, and other Modern Doctrines are ſet in a True Light: by *Lawrence Howell*, A. M. 8°. Price 6 Shillings.

III. The True *Amazons*, or the Monarchy of *Bee's*: being a New Diſcovery and Improvement of thoſe Wonderful Creatures; wherein is Experimentally demonſtrated, 1. That they are all Govern'd by a QUEEN; Their Sex, Male and Female; the Manner of their Breeding; their Wars; their Enemies: with Directions, plain and eaſy, how to manage them both in Straw-Hives and Tranſparent

rent Boxes; ſo that with laying out but 4 or 5 Pounds in three or four Years, if the Summers are kind you may get 30 or 40 Pounds *per Annum*. Alſo how to make *Engliſh* Wine or Mead, equal, if not ſuperior to the beſt of other Wines: by *Joſeph Warder* of *Croydon*, M. D. Price 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

IV. Memoirs, Letters and Negotiations of the Count *D'Eſtrades*, Ambaſſador from the preſent *French* King to the States-General, from the Year 1663, to 1669, conſiſting chiefly of Original Letters, and Inſtructions from the *French* King and his Miniſters to the ſaid Count, with his Anſwers; wherein are ſeveral Secret Tranſactions between the Courts of *England* and *France*, during that Time. Tranſlated by ſeveral Hands, in three Volumes, 8°. Price 16 Shillings.

V. A compleat Hiſtory of Addreſſes, from their firſt Original under *Oliver Cromwell*, to the Year 1710; by One very near a-kin to the Author of *the Tale of a Tub*, 8°. Price 4 Shillings.

VI. The Antiquities of St. *Peter*'s, or the Abbey-Church at *Weſtminſter*; containing all the Inſcriptions, Epitaphs, *&c.* upon the Tombs and Grave-Stones: with the Lives, Marriages and Iſſues of the moſt Eminent Perſonages therein Repoſited, and their Coats of Arms truly Emblazon'd; Adorn'd with Draughts of the Tombs curiouſly Engrav'd, 8°. Price 6 Shillings.

rent Boxes; ſo that with laying out but 4 or 5 Pounds in three or four Years, if the Summers are kind you may get 30 or 40 Pounds *per Annum*. Alſo how to make *Engliſh* Wine or Mead, equal, if not ſuperior to the beſt of other Wines: by *Joſeph Warder* of *Croydon*, M. D. Price 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

IV. Memoirs, Letters and Negotiations of the Count *D'Eſtrades*, Ambaſſador from the preſent *French* King to the States-General, from the Year 1663, to 1669, conſiſting chiefly of Original Letters, and Inſtructions from the *French* King and his Miniſters to the ſaid Count, with his Anſwers; wherein are ſeveral Secret Tranſactions between the Courts of *England* and *France*, during that Time. Tranſlated by ſeveral Hands, in three Volumes, 8°. Price 16 Shillings.

V. A compleat Hiſtory of Addreſſes, from their firſt Original under *Oliver Cromwell*, to the Year 1710; by One very near a-kin to the Author of *the Tale of a Tub*, 8°. Price 4 Shillings.

VI. The Antiquities of St. *Peter's*, or the Abbey-Church at *Weſtminſter*; containing all the Inſcriptions, Epitaphs, *&c.* upon the Tombs and Grave-Stones: with the Lives, Marriages and Iſſues of the moſt Eminent Perſonages therein Repoſited, and their Coats of Arms truly Emblazon'd; Adorn'd with Draughts of the Tombs curiouſly Engrav'd, 8°. Price 6 Shillings.

PL 40